Daily Report

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UN Extends UNPROFOR Mandate in Croatia

LD0110122893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 1 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, Oct 1 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council on Thursday [30 September] failed to agree over the text of the resolution on the extension of the mandate of U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) by another six months, and only extended the mandate by another 24 hours until a final decision is reached on Friday.

The situation become confused after Croatia, through its advocates in the U.N. Security Council, tried to push through an amendment which makes conditional the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia on the settlement of the RSK-Croat crisis.

The U.N. Security Council imposed in late May of 1992 comprehensive sanctions against Yugoslavia due to its alleged involvement in the civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, although Yugoslavia has no troops there.

The world organization has made conditional the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia on the signing of the peace agreement and ending of the war in Bosnia.

At the insistence of U.N. Security Council members, the Croatian demand was moderated to a certain degree, but Russia was opposed to its being incorporated in the resolution, with the move seconded by Great Britain and France.

Russian ambassador to the United Nations, Juliy Vorontsov, asked for more time for additional consultations, and the Security Council adopted mini-resolution 869 which provides for the extension of the mandate of the peacekeepers only by 24 hours, TANJUG learned from diplomatic sources.

The mandate of the peacekeepers expired on September 30, and U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali asked the Security Council to extend the mandate by another six months assessing that the RSK-Croat relations are on the brink of a new war.

RSK was proclaimed by the local Serbs in late 1991 in areas with a majority Serb population in response to Croatia's forceful secession from the Yugoslav Federation and the attempt of the Croatian authorities to reduce the Serbs to the status of an ethnic minority.

RSK was placed under U.N. protection in March 1992.

Croatia does not recognize RSK and attacked it on three occasions in an effort to forcefully establish its rule in its territory.

Croatia Rejects Alterations to UN Resolution

LD0310195293 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Report by unidentified correspondent from New York]

[Excerpts] Here in New York Croatia has not deviated from its stand on the possible cancellation of the UNPROFOR [Un Protection Forces] mandate. [passage omitted]

I have found out from [Croatian Foreign] Minister Mate Granic that in the event there are alterations to the text of [the UN Security Council] resolution, Croatia will be forced to cancel UNPROFOR services.

The resolution paves the way for improving the situation in Bosnia. Minister Granic resolutely rejected the Russian proposal on placing less responsibility [for the conflict] on Serbia and Montenegro in the text of the resolution, which Security Council chairman Sardenberg of Brazil will put up for vote at 1600 local time Tuesday.

Croatia has guarantees [as heard] from 14 Security Council member-states and from some countries outside the Security Council, among which I would underscore Germany. Many countries have shown understanding for the [possible Croatian] decision to cancel the UNPROFOR mandate if Russia uses its veto at the Security Council and forces Croatia to act in that way. [passage omitted]

Zhelev Addresses EC-PHARE Conference

AU3009192893 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—A two-day conference "Bulgaria and the EC" opened here today. It was organized by the European Research Center in Sofia in cooperation with the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme, the Greek European Research Center in Athens, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Institute of European Policy in Bonn.

Nearly 400 participants will discuss the development of Bulgaria-EC relations and the progress of the reforms in this country. They will also outline the prospects of Bulgaria's integration into the European structures.

President Zhelyu Zhelev addressed the conference. He emphasized that the results of this conference will be of great importance in the elaboration of pragmatic approaches and decisions for Bulgaria's further integration into the EC. All Bulgaria's political, economic and national defence aspirations are related with Europe, our symbol of democracy, economic prosperity and human values, the president said. Bulgaria has no other alternative but association with and full membership in the EC, President Zhelev pointed. Unfortunately, the progress of integration is much slower than we would have liked it to be, the president said.

President Zhelev said that this country would like to be treated on an equal footing with the Visegrad Four and is aspiring to full membership in the European structures, the Bulgarian president stressed. He also expressed concern over the delay in the coming into force of the interim agreement between Bulgaria and the EC. Undeservedly, Bulgaria was made hostage of the struggle between the different trends within the community, the president said.

Mr. Alan Mayhew, head of the operational service PHARE of the EC Commission, addressed the participants in the conference on the behalf of the EC and said the community wishes to work with Bulgaria for its admittance as a full-right EC member. According to Mr. Mayhew, Bulgaria is not to blame for the delay because it has become an innocent victim in a dispute between members of the community. Bulgaria meets many of the EC membership requirements, but this is a long and complicated process which requires time.

Bulgaria has been granted about ecu 300 million under the PHARE programme since the beginning of 1990. Funds were allocated mainly to reform priorities, Mr. Mayhew said. It is high time for technical assistance to give way to support for investment in Bulgaria, and for the Phare programme to become a major instrument for Bulgaria's admission at the community.

After the opening of the conference, President Zhelev met with Mr. Thomas O'sullivan, head of delegation of the EC commission, and Mr. Alan Mayhew, head of the operational service PHARE.

The Bulgarian president laid special emphasis on the fact that Bulgaria is sustaining grave losses as a result of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro and that practically, it is undeservedly punished. He also voiced concern over the delayed interim agreement on trade between Bulgaria and the EC and raised the question about increasing the funds extended to Bulgaria under the PHARE programme. Indirect compensations of the embargo-losses and assistance for Bulgaria is not only of economic but also of political importance, the Bulgarian president stressed.

Berisha Interviewed on Situation in Kosovo

AU0410085893 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2058 GMT 3 Oct 93

["Exclusive" interview with President Sali Berisha by Paul Lendvai; place and date not given—recorded; Berisha's statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Lendvai] President Berisha, there is news about a new wave of arrests in Kosovo, the danger of new fighting of everybody against everybody else in Bosnia. Various statesmen, including the Austrian foreign minister, have warned that the fighting in Bosnia and in ex-Yugoslavia could spread to Kosovo. Is this a threat to Albania? How dangerous is the situation?

[Berisha] I think the situation in the Balkans is a great danger for Albania, Albanians, and the entire Balkans region. I would like to stress that the international community is contributing to the funeral of an entire state. When this state, Bosnia-Herzegovina, is eradicated, Milosevic is determined to shift the conflict to the south in order to create greater Serbia. He has been intensifying suppression in Kosovo. This is part of his tactics. When he wants to achieve something—and he will continue in Bosnia—he intensifies suppression in Kosovo to divert attention a bit.

The latest reports from Kosovo clearly show that he is very determined to continue his aggressive policy.

[Lendvai] About 22 to 25 people have been killed in incidents at the Serbian-Albanian border. According to UN observers, the other side was responsible for every single case. There are also concentrations of troops in Kosovo. Is there a danger of war in the Balkans?

[Berisha] I think there is a real danger that the war will spread. I would just like to mention one specific night—the night of the Pope's visit to Albania. On this evening nine Albanians were killed in the border area. For me this was a warlike gesture. We protested and made every effort to draw the attention of the international community to this incident. I believe, however, that the international community will not manage to put an end to Milosevic's policy. It continues without any change. Almost every week people are killed in Kosovo and in the border area. They will not accept observers of the CSCE or the EC. Of course, Milosevic is the one who is mainly responsible for what is happening in the region.

Milosevic and Serbia do not, however, represent a mega-state in this region. They are directly or indirectly supported from various sides.

[Lendvai] What can and should the West do in this situation in and around Kosovo?

[Berisha] The West first should preserve and defend the principles of peace and security. If the West accepts that these principles are buried in Bosnia, the aggressor will not have any reason to stop, in my view. First of all, this means that the aggression in Bosnia should come to an end. Afterwards, Kosovo should be placed under the control of the United Nations or NATO so that a political solution can be found for the people who live there. We are not asking to change the borders by force. We adhere to the principles of Helsinki. However, a final settlement is necessary for Kosovo in order to bring about a lasting settlement of the crisis in the Balkans.

[Lendvai] You also have another neighbor, Greece, with whom there are tensions. There are also rumors and statements about an emerging axis between Athens and Belgrade.

[Berisha] I think we have not given any pretext for the deterioration of the relations between Albania and Greece. On the contrary, we have tried intensively to have friendly relations with our oldest neighbor. The problem, however, is that Greece thinks it can profit from the period of restructuring in the Balkans. Therefore, the Greek Government has supported Milosevic and caused tensions in the entire region.

The international community, I think, should, first, exert more pressure on its members to pursue a more reasonable policy; second, I think, without being sure, that this deterioration in the relations between Albania and Greece is due to the election period in Greece. Three months ago Prime Minister Mitsotakis told me that he was very satisfied with the situation of the minorities in Albania. And then, from one day to the next, this suddenly changed and it was said that there is a suppressed minority. This means that they began to abuse the Greek minority in Albania for their own policy in the Balkans.

After the election campaign Greece will probably be better able to contribute to stability in this region.

[Lendvai] How is the situation now as regards the Greek minority?

[Berisha] First, I can assure you that we want to create a model for the treatment of minorities. More than half of our people live outside our country. We want to be a model in the treatment of minorities. When you look at the members of the Greek minority in Albania, you will see two clear trends. They have parties, schools, newspapers, and all the rights that are due to them in line with the Copenhagen charter. In addition, there is something else: integration in the majority. They have ministers, representatives in various parties, ambassadors, judges, etc. in line with their capabilities. To get a job in Albania, it is not necessary to show one's nationality.

[Lendvai] You mentioned the Albanians outside Albania—half of your nation. How is that situation now as regards Macedonia, not least with a view to the Albanian minority in Macedonia? It is said that about 22-30 percent of the population in Macedonia are Albanians.

[Berisha] During this year we made progress in our relations with Macedonia, and I would like to stress that

the Albanians have made progress regarding national human rights. However, since they are an important part of Macedonia's population, in my view, Macedonia, as a multiethnic state, should realize that the full recognition of human and national rights would mean ensuring stability.

There are some problems in this connection. The Albanians contribute to stability, participate in the government. The Macedonians should accept a census in line with UN criteria. This is necessary, because some speak of 21 percent, others of 30 percent. As regards the education sector, I think that the Albanians in Macedonia should have access to all levels of education, since they have a right to that. Even under Tito they had more opportunities than they do today.

[Lendvai] In this connection there are voices that claim that Albania is striving to create a Greater Albania.

[Berisha] I believe that is a product of Serbian propaganda, with the goal of justifying Belgrade's policy with a view to the creation of Greater Serbia. I would like to point out that in Albania's political scene there are two small parties whose party program envisages the unification of Albanian territory and of the Albanians. These two parties—one in Albania and one in Kosovo—received 2,000 votes each. That means, all that the Albanians demand is a democratic state, democratic institutions, national rights, and human rights in harmony with the Helsinki Final Act.

[Lendvai] And no change in the borders by force?

[Berisha] No change in borders by force, not at all. All serious, important political forces have made that clear.

[Lendvai] Is association with the EC and close relations—possibly membership—with NATO a priority for Albanian foreign policy?

[Berisha] Yes, of course. This is Albania's first priority. European integration is Albania's first priority. We are one of the oldest peoples on the continent. We have lost many decades, and we should try to become integrated in NATO, in the EC, and in all other European institutions. We consider membership in NATO as very important, because NATO has proved to be a very strong institution regarding the safeguarding of the values of democracy and security, which are very important for us.

Albania is quite different from the other East European countries, whom history gave a position between East and West, the position of cordon sanitaire. In my view, Albania cannot be considered as such. More than 30 years ago we left the Warsaw Pact, and there are a great number of strategic and political reasons for Albania's membership in NATO.

[Lendvai] Is Albania thus a factor of stability in the Balkans?

[Berisha] We are working on it, and we will become a factor of stability in the region. There is no doubt about the fact that we are working to achieve stability.

[Lendvai] Thank you very much.

Greek Minister's Accusation on Minorities Refuted

AU0210203193 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Reply given by the Albanian delegation at the 1 October session of the UN General Assembly to accusations made by the Greek foreign minister, Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou]

[Text] In his speech to the UN General Assembly the Greek foreign minister, Mr. Papakonstandinou, raised the problem of the Greek minority in Albania, stating among other things that religious freedom and the right to education must not be denied the Greek minority in Albania. Albania cannot deny to its minorities what it demands for Albanian minorities outside its borders, he said.

In his reply the representative of the Albanian delegation pointed out that no one in Albania denies Greece's contribution, together with that of all EC members, in assisting our country to overcome current economic difficulties. The Albanian people and government have never failed to express their gratitude to Greece. The Albanian government has always adhered to the principles governing fundamental human rights and freedoms, in conformity with the principles of the CSCE, particularly those concerning culture, education, and religion.

The policy of the Albanian democratic government concerning the rights of the minority is totally clear, a testimony of which also was the visit of the CSCE High Commissioner who, in his contacts with the representatives of the Greek minority party and members of this minority, concluded that the status of the Greek minority has never been more favorable than it is now. There is no evidence of any discrimination whatsoever against the Greek minority. The situation for the minority will be improved step by step, together with that of all the Albanian people.

Citing the Greek minister's statement that Albania cannot deny the minorities within its borders what it claims for Albanian minorities outside its borders, the representative of the Albanian delegation stressed that Albania has never violated this correct principle of international law. This principle draws particular attention to the principle of reciprocity, particularly with regard to those countries who deny the existence of national minorities within their countries, as is the case with Greece. We stand firmly by our position that no comparison whatsoever can be made between the question of Albanians in Kosova and that of Greeks in Albania.

In conclusion, the Albanian representative stressed that exaggerations and lack of tolerance bar the way to dialogue and understanding. The policy of playing the card of extreme nationalism for electoral purposes is a transitory factor in the current political Greek situation, and reason, goodwill, and fruitful constructive dialogue will predominate in the relations between the two countries.

Socialists Issue Statement on Human Rights

AU0410091293 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Sep 93 pp 1, 7

[Statement by the General Management Committee of the Socialist Party, issued in Tirana on 23 Sep: "The Socialist Party Is Determined To Oppose Systematic Violations of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms"]

[Text] On Thursday 23 September 1993 the General Management Committee of the Socialist Party [PSSh] met and analyzed the situation regarding the basic rights and freedoms of the individual and the opposition in Albania, and the role of the PSSh in defending democracy and the rule of law.

The fundamental problem on which the debate focused was the PSSh's constant and growing commitment to the defense of human rights and freedoms, and its commitment to denouncing the antidemocratic measures of the present regime in Albania, which is becoming responsible for the delay in Albania's full integration in the European family.

The Albanian public has witnessed brazen violations of citizens' political, economic, and social freedoms and rights on the part of state institutions. The severe rise in unemployment, the fall in the number of graduates and the very severe situation in the health and social security sectors are depriving large numbers of people of the right to work, education, medical treatment, social protection, etc. All these things have prepared the ground for the growth of many social blights such as corruption, crime, prostitution, etc., which are eroding the foundations of Albanian society and jeopardizing its future.

The PSSh expresses its concern at the systematic violations of the basic human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the laws approved by the People's Assembly and other documents ratified by our country.

There are many cases of the imprisonment of members of the opposition, such as the chairmen of opposition parties Fatos Nano and Idajet Beqiri and of dozens of those involved in the PSSh's legal and peaceful activities, the physical maltreatment and isolation in prison of many innocent citizens, and the [words illegible] jobs of thousands of PSSh supporters, etc.

The present regime is waging a savage campaign of psychological propaganda against the opposition, denying or truncating many of the rights it enjoys under the law.

The opposition in Albania is deprived of the possibility of using the official media, which have been transformed into the obedient tools of the party-state. The PSSh is considered by the present regime to be destructive, criminal, and antinational, thus preparing the ground for the restriction of its freedoms to the point of the total liquidation of the real opposition.

Mr. Selami, the main leader of the ruling party has publicly called for a legal ban on the PSSh, thus creating an extremely dangerous precedent. Despite the continual pressures against the opposition and the PSSh as the main opposition force in particular, which have attempted to divert it from the battlefront in defense of fundamental human rights and freedoms, it is a fact that the PSSh is daily becoming more aware of its principled role in denouncing violations of these rights.

The PSSh General Management Committee informs the Albanian and world public that more than 700,000 people have demanded the immediate release of Fatos Nano and other political prisoners. This is a powerful proof that they are aware of the great dangers that are threatening democracy, and are ready to defend democracy. On this occasion, the General Management Committee thanks all those PSSh members and supporters and the thousands of other members and supporters of other groups that rose above their party convictions in defense of human rights and freedoms in Albania.

Several European organizations specializing in human rights have expressed their criticisms and reservations over the state of basic rights and freedoms in Albania, and have asked for fast measures to correct it.

One of the main obstacles delaying Albania's admission to the Council of Europe is the Albanian state's failure to commit itself to fully guaranteeing human rights and freedoms. It is the ruling party, which must demonstrate with concrete steps that it supports the establishment of real democracy and the rule of law, that bears responsibility for every delay in Albania's integration into European organizations. We would regard the recent statements by President of the Republic Sali Berisha about establishing a permanent dialogue with the opposition and correcting defects and shortcomings in the manner of government as positive signs toward overcoming the tense political and social situation in the country, if they had not so far remained demagogy. The PSSh sincerely believes that the time has come for all Albanian political forces to support a spirit of dialogue, understanding, and consensus, overcoming prejudices about each other. This would help social stability and serve to consolidate democracy. Respect and institutional guarantees for human rights and freedoms, the establishment of candid dialogue with the opposition forces, and the creation of the necessary scope for them to act as an opposition would be a favorable start to overcoming the difficult social and political situation. The first step, which would also be a demonstration of the trustworthiness of the president's statements, would be the immediate release of Fatos Nano, PSSh chairman and People's Assembly

deputy, and all other political prisoners in Albania. An open statement from Mr. Berisha on this issue would also be a strong response to the wishes of the more than 700,000 signatories of the petition.

The PSSh expresses the conviction that the defense of human rights and freedoms and Albania's full integration into the common structures of democratic Europe are directly conditional on the drafting and approval of the state's basic law, the constitution. It condemns the systematic violation of the deadlines laid down by the People's Assembly for the submission of the draft constitution for parliamentary approval, for which the government and the president too are responsible, and also once again strongly demands an end to intentional procrastination, so that the draft constitution can be submitted to the People's Assembly for approval as soon as possible.

The PSSh General Management Committee calls on all its members and supporters and on political forces, organizations, and associations, to increase their commitment in defense of human rights and freedoms, as the foundation for the functioning and consolidation of the new democracy in Albania.

Minister of Public Order Returns From Austria

AU0210203393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Summary from poor reception] Agron Musaraj, minister of public order, has returned from a working visit in Vienna at the invitation of Franz Loschnak, Austrian federal minister of the interior. On 30 September special gendarmerie forces carried out a five-hour exercise that was observed by Mr. Musaraj. On the same day, he visited various institutions of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior.

In his discussions with the Austrian authorities, Mr. Musaraj raised the question of Albanian refugees in Austria and their settlement. Mr. Loschnak expressed his satisfaction with the fact that no criminal activity has been carried out by Albanian refugees currently living in Austria. Mr. Musaraj thanked him for this statement and expressed the belief that Albanians living in Austria will continue to behave with dignity and in conformity with the laws of the country.

The two ministers went on to discuss professional matters. They agreed that Albanian police officers and other personnel of the Ministry of Public Order will periodically go to Austria on short and longer-term specialization courses.

Mr. Loschnak expressed his willingness to assist Albania in every way.

Mr. Musaraj returned home yesterday.

Selami Visits Washington, Meets U.S. Officials

AU0110200893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] At the invitation of the U.S. Senate, Mr. Eduard Selami, chairman of the Democratic Party [PD], visited Washington. During his stay in Washington he met a number of officials and politicians. He had meetings in the Senate, the Congress, and the State Department. He also met with representatives of the Democratic and Republican Parties, as well as officials of the World Bank and various other important institutions.

The purpose of the visit was to establish contacts at various levels within the context of the current friendly relations between the two countries. A spokesman of the PD declared that a spirit of friendship and cooperation prevailed at all the meetings that Mr. Selami had in Washington. The discussions showed the predisposition of the U.S. Administration and Congress to further assist the democratic developments in Albania and to contribute toward a settlement of the regional crisis.

Zhelev Departs for New York, Supports Yeltsin

AU0410094993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] This morning, a few minutes prior to his departure for the session of the UN General Assembly in New York, President Zhelyu Zhelev read to the representatives of the mass media the text of a declaration, which reads:

President Yeltsin declared a state of emergency in Moscow. This morning he issued a decree on cleansing the state buildings of the rebels [metezhnitsi] and on disarming the rebels. At the moment an operation to liberate the building of the parliament is under way. The actions of President Yeltsin are met with impressive support on the part of the leaders of the great powers and the East European countries, Dr. Zhelev stressed. I am convinced, he said, that the communist-fascist coup will be crushed in the next few hours and that democracy in Russia will win the upcoming parliamentary elections.

This is how the president forecast the future events in Moscow:

[Begin Zhelev recording] I hope that, albeit slowly, things will head toward elections. The alternative is a civil war. However, civil war cannot be considered a real alternative, because it again will be followed by a dictatorship. Russia has a sad history of civil wars. The last was in 1919-23, when thousands of people were killed and the communist dictatorship of Lenin and the Bolsheviks was established. The results are well-known and now we see desperate attempts to correct all this and direct Russia toward the road of democracy, occupying a worthy place among the civilized nations in the world. [end recording]

SDS Leader Dimitrov Supports Yeltsin

AU0410110093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] At 0900 [0700 GMT] this morning Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], sent a telegram to President Yeltsin. Antoaneta Kuncheva reports on the telegram and on the position of the SDS:

[Kuncheva] Late last night, issuing an appeal to Bulgarian citizens, the SDS expressed a clear and categorical position on the political situation in Moscow. The appeal expressed the SDS's concern about the events and violence in Russia. In its appeal, the SDS stated that Russia faces civil war and that the Russian communists are calling for a new revolution. The fact that in their party organ the communists describe the democratic changes in Russia as dictatorship is exceptionally important and evokes exceptional alarm.

Therefore we appeal to all those who are concerned about the fate of Bulgaria to support us morally and with active civil actions.

This morning Mr. Filip Dimitrov sent a telegram to President Boris Yeltsin, which reads:

Your Excellency, in those critical hours for the democratic future of your country, the SDS in Bulgaria firmly supports your efforts to crush the criminal coup of the fascist-communist elements. We openly expressed this position on 3 October on Bulgarian television and in our daily newspaper. In supporting you, we also support the democratic reforms in Russia, against the background of the recommunization that is taking place in Bulgaria. Your inevitable victory will also be a victory for us. We are convinced that it will open the road to really democratic elections in the near future.

Socialists: There Can Be 'No Return to Past'

AU0410110493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Georgi Purvanov, member of the Executive Bureau of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], expresses the BSP position on the events in Moscow:

[Purvanov] The comprehensive position of the BSP leadership will be published later, but we can already draw certain fundamental conclusions: The political crisis in the high authorities of the RSFSR has developed into a bloody drama. It concerns not only Russia but the entire world public. The concerns expressed in the 22 September declaration of the BSP leadership have became reality.

The Bulgarian Socialists categorically denounce undemocratic forms and violence, regardless of which side uses them. Russia has come to the brink of civil war because the Russian politicians could not offer a real democratic alternative for the transition. We express the hope that the armed clashes will immediately stop and that the conflict will be resolved through constructive dialogue and negotiations in which compromises that are acceptable to the Russian people will be sought.

Events in Moscow traditionally affect the processes in Europe, including Bulgaria. We are convinced that the democratic processes in Bulgaria are irreversible. The BSP was and will be one of the basic guarantors of the peaceful transition toward democracy. Regardless of the outcome of the clashes in Moscow, there will be no return to the past, and the restoration of state and social models that have been rejected is unacceptable.

Daskalov Confirms 'Active Neutrality'

AU0210201193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Yasen Boyadzhiev]

[Text] [Announcer] Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Daskalov is continuing intensive meetings and talks within the framework of the 48th UN General Assembly.

Let us listen to our correspondent Yasen Boyadzhiev from New York:

[Boyadzhiev] For the Bulgarian delegation the first week of the general debates ended with seven official meetings, four of which were devoted to talks with foreign affairs ministers from Balkan countries.

Naturally, apart from bilateral political and economic relations, the talks focused on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In talks with Vladislav Jovanovic, the Serbian foreign minister, our Minister Stanislav Daskalov expressed our country's well-known stand, based on active neutrality and Bulgaria's support for international efforts towards peaceful settlement of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

Minister Daskalov reportedly raised the issue of the real human rights of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia. He briefed his colleague on Bulgarian initiatives at the session related to restricting damages suffered by the Bulgarian economy as a result of observing the Yugo-sanctions.

The Croatian Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic was also told of Bulgaria's losses as a result of observing the sanctions. Albania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi declared that his country is ready to support the aforementioned Bulgarian initiatives.

Mr. Daskalov and his Greek colleague Mikhail Papaconstantinou exchanged opinions on the situation in former Yugoslavia. The Greek minister also briefed Mr. Daskalov in detail on his country's initiative, which he later submitted in his speech to the UN General Assembly in connection with the proposal to convene a broadly representative international conference in Athens dealing with the peaceful future of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the signing of a peace treaty by the conflicting sides.

Minister Daskalov explained Bulgaria's stand on the discussion of an expanding NATO. He also expressed Bulgaria's concern about the delay in enforcing the temporary trade agreement with the EC.

On Monday, 4 October, Minister Daskalov is expected to meet Rinaldo Mota Sardenberg from Brazil, chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee. The meeting assumes an even greater importance considering that the Brazilian diplomat took over the post of UN Security Council chairman on 1 October 1993.

Serbian Organizations Detain Ship on Danube

AU0210181893 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 1 Oct 93

[From BTA press review]

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 2 (BTA)—Only 40 of the incumbent 82 MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) are on the union's new election ticket, 24 CHASA and KONTINENT report on their front pages, citing a source who saw the ticket. 30 MP's have been found unreliable and another twelve questionable. According to the source, the list has been drawn up by SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, by Edvin Sugarev MP (who went on a hunger strike this summer to press demands for President Zhelev's resignation), by the leader of the National Club for Democracy Yordan Vasilev and the Honorary Chairman of the SDS-affiliated Ekoglasnost National Movement Dimitur Korudzhiev. The four would press their course at the first National SDS Theoretical Conference starting today, say the papers. Meeting the press at noon today, Filip Dimitrov and Yordan Vasilev declined to have made such a list. They think the reports are an attempt to split the SDS faction.

"If we want to take office again, we should be ready to talk with everyone," says Ventseslav Dimitrov MP of the SDS-affiliated United Christian Democratic Center. He sees the gravest danger for the union in a more leftist orientation.

The SDS Theoretical Conference may end with a declaration of unity, if SDS politicians are as sincere among themselves as they are toward their adversaries, says a comment in the private OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK.

According to the private STANDART NEWS some SDS MP's think the conference will see threats to expel the Liberal Congress Party and the new Social Democratic Party from the SDS, on the one hand, and personal criticism against SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, on the other. Other MP's do not think the conference can lead the SDS out of the present stagnation, the daily says.

The daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party DUMA front pages an appeal by the Fatherland Party of Labor and the all-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests to Mikhail Gorbachev to testify to a Bulgarian Court on the "Chernobyl case." The letter recalls radiation-related damage caused to this country by the Chernobyl disaster during the Gorbachev rule. The letter has to do with the conviction of former Bulgarian responsible officials Grigor Stoichkov and Lyubomir Shinderov, defendants in the "Chernobyl case," sentenced to two years in prison. The criminal division of the Supreme Court yesterday suspended their sentences. [passage omitted] The Bulgarian ship Khan Krum was detained by the Serb organizations New Byzantium and White Rose which completely blocked the Belgrade section of the River Danube forty-eight hours ago, reports Velizar Enchev of OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK from Belgrade. The ships carries trucks from Germany. The representative of the Bulgarian River Lines in Belgrade Valentin Keremedchiev and Skipper Lyubomir Nedelchev handed a written message to the blockade leaders, asking for passage. A senior Serb representative promised the request will be handled with understanding, yet said all barge trains will remain anchored off Belgrade by Monday. The official Belgrade authorities denied to have anything to do with the actions of the

two formations, protesting against the UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. [passage omitted].

Delegation Signs Agreement With World Bank

AU0110183093 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—A Bulgarian delegation, led by Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, continued its talks in Washington D.C. with officials of the IMF and the World Bank. An agreement on Bulgarian private investment and export financing with the World Bank was signed today.

"The two sides have largely converged in their positions. The negotiations will go on and a stand-by arrangement can be expected within a couple of months," IMF European Department Director Massimo Russo said after conferring with the Bulgarian delegation's leaders, Bulgarian National Television special correspondent Daniela Kuneva reported this evening.

"There are hopes for signing a third stand-by arrangement with the IMF," said Bulgarian chief foreign debt negotiator Mariana Todorova, who arrived from Washington this evening. "This can be done provided social policy is revised and serious programmes for social security are adopted and provided a reasonable budget deficit is projected for next year," she went on to say.

"The reform in Bulgaria is unfolding against formidable odds arising from the Yugoembargo, Bulgaria's unsettled balance-of-payments relations with Eastern Europe and the drought, therefore, the country must get support from the international financial organizations," the governor of the Bulgarian National Bank Prof. Todor Vulchev said, addressing the annual meeting of the IMF on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation. "The lack of a stand-by arrangement with the fund places Bulgaria in a financial isolation, therefore, the country now concentrates on reaching an agreement with the IMF which opens the door to the second tranche of the World Bank's loan, to balance-of-payments assistance from the organization for economic cooperation and development and within the framework of the intricate negotiations on Bulgaria's foreign debt," Prof. Vulchev emphasized.

Today's signing of an agreement between Bulgaria and the World Bank on private investment and export financing brought to a close the talks of the Bulgarian delegation with the bank, Ms. Kuneva reported.

Results of Talks With IMF, World Bank Viewed

AU0310183193 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 3 Oct 93

["Talks of Bulgarian Delegation in Washington Show Support for Reform"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—The meetings in Washington D.C. between a Bulgarian delegation led by Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov and leaders of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, brought clarity, showing the international institutions' understanding and support for the Bulgarian transition. The sides brought their positions closer. A new standby arrangement with the IMF and a release of the second tranche of the World Bank structural adjustment loan to Bulgaria can well be expected. The view prevailed in Washington that relations between Bulgaria and the IMF have thawed at a critical time for the progress of the reform in Bulgaria, said national television's special correspondent Daniela Kuneva in a summarizing report, aired on national radio today. The Bulgarian delegation, which also included the governor of the central Bulgarian National Bank Todor Vulchev and the leader of the Government Commission on Bulgaria's Foreign Debt Mariyana Todorova, was in Washington to attend the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank.

"The door is opening for the signing of a third standby arrangement between Bulgaria and the IMF, which would open up prospects for further work with the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the European Community and with foreign creditor banks," said Prof. Vulchev before his departure from Washington. He is pleased with the results. "There is more to do by the year's end to really sign an arrangement, and we have to try and persuade the government, the political forces in parliament and the trade unions that what we agreed on here should come to life. Otherwise, we may find ourselves isolated by the world financial community," said Prof. Vulchev further on.

The passage by Bulgaria's Parliament last Friday [1 October] of the Value Added Tax Act had an incredible impact for the fund and the World Bank, according to Ms. Kuneva. The IMF mission leader for Bulgaria Russel Kincaid said he may come to Bulgaria within a month. According to him, a signing of a third standby agreement with Bulgaria can be expected by the year's end or even by two months' time, on the basis of the achievements of the Washington meetings.

"A favourable environment is now being created for the promotion of relations with the IMF and the world banks, which have been normal so far," said Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov. "Now we can achieve what we need: A new standby agreement, which would create an opportunity for substantial extra lending, and after that, for a release of the second tranche of the World Bank structural adjustment loan, for an unfreezing of the 100-million-dollar Japanese loan package, the ECU 110 million from the EC and for getting things back on track in the Group of Seven," he said.

The delegation and the IMF leaders agreed on a framework for the 1994 national budget as a basis for a new standby arrangement. "The fund said categorically that if the budget guidelines are approved, the arrangement

can be signed right away," said Mr. Aleksandrov. The continuation of the reform in Bulgaria is essential for the IMF leaders, he said.

Assembly Adopts Value-Added Tax After Compromise

AU0110111593 Sofia BTA in English 1025 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 1 (BTA)—Today parliament adopted on second and final reading the Value Added Tax [VAT] Act, introducing taxation on transactions in goods and services. The act will take effect as from April 1, 1994. It is one of a package of major tax laws required by the international financial institutions.

The act sets a flat vat rate of 18 percent. MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) urged for a graduated rate. As a compromise solution, parliament exempted from VAT transactions in a definite group of prime necessities within three years after the entry of the act into force.

These goods include all types of bread, milk, cheese, coal, briquettes and firewood for household uses, electricity, heat power and water for household uses. The three-year exemption also applies to textbooks approved by the ministry of education and science, baby food, apparel, footwear and pharmaceuticals.

First SDS Theoretical Conference Begins

AU0210162293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Silvia Velikova]

[Text] The First Theoretical Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] opened in Sofia this morning. The conference began shortly after 0900 Bulgarian time [0700 GMT], but long before the opening a group of SDS supporters had gathered in front of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences building, where the conference is taking place, carrying blue banners and posters. They greeted the arriving leaders in different ways.

Mr. Slatinski [MP, chairman of National Security Commission] and National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov earned hissing and cat calls. One of the slogans that might explain this reaction read that, if Yordanov, Mikhail Nedelchev, Georgi Markov, and Nikolay Slatinski should be included in the SDS lists for the next elections, the people who had gathered here today would not vote with the blue ballot.

As was stressed on several occasions, the conference is not expected to adopt political decisions. During the two days of the conference 25 papers are scheduled to be read; today's reports are mainly focusing on political issues. Stefan Savov chairs the morning session. In his opening speech he pointed out that the objective of the conference is to provide a precise evaluation of the country's current situation on the basis of the reports and analytical papers that will be submitted.

The theoretical conference opened with a report delivered by Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, entitled: "Analysis of the Current Political Situation—Domestic and Foreign Policy Aspects."

From now on I must pursue my report as a person who has not directly witnessed the event, because, we, the journalists from the three mass media, were admitted only to the opening of the conference.

Further reports are expected to be read by Yordano Vasilev, Aleksandur Yordanov, and Ventsislav Dimitrov, that have perhaps already been delivered by now. Within an hour or so, we expect a briefing to take place at which the participants in the first session are scheduled to provide more detailed information for the media.

Klaus Voices Support for Yeltsin, Reforms

LD0410103293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has made the following statement in response to the tense internal political situation in the Russian Federation.

[Begin Klaus recording] It is in our interest—in our moral interest and in our foreign political interest—and I am convinced it is also in the interest of the Russian people—that the situation in Russia be resolved without bloodshed, that talks begin, and that matters are not resolved by force but by reason.

It is obvious that Russia needs reforms, that it needs fundamental reforms so that this specific situation can never be repeated. We are convinced that the bearer of Russian reforms is a group of people around President Yeltsin rather than the other side. In this respect we support him. [end recording]

Defense Minister Views Moscow Situation

LD0310185193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys describes the current situation in Moscow as dramatic. He said that it testifies to a tough clash between the two political rivals, but is not as acute as to force the Czech side to take other measures than it adopted at the beginning of the conflict. He gave assurances that our Army is aware of the movements of troops and military forces within Russia—and that is what matters.

Minister Baudys expressed his conviction that it would be possible to reach some sort of a consensus on election dates and methods in order to prevent a bigger conflict which might grow into a civil war.

For the Czech Republic, Europe, and the entire world it is very important that elections in Russia take place as soon as possible and that the pro-democratic and pro-reform forces—capable of steering the economic and social situation in Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States in a positive direction—win.

Baudys Condemns Yeltsin Letter on NATO

LD0110211693 Prague CTK in English 2047 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 1 (CTK)—It is as if the spirit of the USSR were wandering, Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys told CTK on the line from Athens today, reacting to the statement made by the Russian President Boris Yeltsin earlier this week. And that's something I don't like. Baudys is attending an association for NATO meeting in Athens.

It was reported on Sept 30 that Yeltsin had written to the heads of western states warning against increasing NATO membership by the addition of former eastern bloc countries.

Baudys said he had not read Yeltsin's letter, but reflected that it had to be some sort of misunderstanding and that he was not quite sure whether he understood where Russia was heading and whether Russia understood where the Czechs were heading.

An independent and a sovereign state like the Czech Republic can express its ideas in a totally free and independent way, he said.

If it proves to be true that Yeltsin is suggesting that Russia and NATO jointly safeguard the security of central and eastern European countries, then it is, according to Baudys, a certain step forward, and Baudys would be quite happy, he said, if NATO agreed to jointly guarantee the Czech Republic's security.

But should Mr. Yeltsin have any objections to the spread of NATO's influence eastwards, I would believe it to be a case of misunderstanding.

Baudys said that it was desirable that a new European security structure should be based on NATO.

The new security system, however, is not identical with the current structure of NATO, and this is why a NATO overhaul is imperative, Baudys concluded.

Havel 'Will Not Respond'

LD0110165593 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 1 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel will not respond to the letter sent this week by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the leaders of Western states regarding the membership of former Soviet bloc countries in NATO, presidential spokesman Ladislav Spacek told CTK today.

In an interview for Czech television Thursday, Spacek said that he could only recall Yeltsin's words at a briefing after a meeting with Havel during his recent visit to Prague. At that time, Yeltsin told the Russian agency Novosti, if it is a matter of setting up a European space, then it is the affair of every state to resolve it independently and with sovereignty. If it is a matter of integration into Europe, then we will also discuss joining the EC and the Council of Europe.

In his letter this week, Yeltsin referred to the 1990 agreement between the former Soviet Union and Germany, which prevents NATO from accepting new members. During Yeltsin's visit to Prague August 25, he stated that Russia had nothing against the admittance of the former communist bloc countries to international structures, Spacek said.

In the letter sent to France, Germany, the United States and Great Britain, Yeltsin warns against NATO

accepting former communist countries as members and proposes that instead, NATO and Russia jointly guarantee the security of Eastern Europe.

Deputy Minister Cited

LD0110165493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in C[illegible]h 1500 GMT 1 Oct 93

[T[illegible] We have already reported that Russian President Bo[illegible] Yeltsin sent a letter to NATO member states yeste[illegible]day. In this letter he expresses his opposition to the former communist satellites of the Soviet Union joining NATO. My colleague Milan Repka asked Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka for an interview on this topic.

[Repka] Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka said that he personally feels that, speaking from the foreign political view, attaching fundamental importance to Yeltsin's move is not quite correct. Pavel Bratinka went on to say that in this context he does not feel that the real addressee of Yeltsin's letter was the North Atlantic Alliance, but the Russian Federation. He justified his view by saying that nationalistic or imperial forces still exist in Russia and that these forces are watching the current development on the Russian political scene through the eyes of Soviet empire.

In this connection we should realize that President Yeltsin wants to deprive these people of the argument that he is neglecting Russian interests.

Pavel Bratinka then went on to say that the Czech Government's foreign policy will do everything to protect our interest, but that it does not intend to succumb to any kind of intimidation. It is true, however, that some NATO member states are not interested in expanding NATO. These states might welcome President Yeltsin's move as an expedient pretext for adopting a negative stance, Pavel Bratinka added.

Yeltsin Credibility Viewed

LD0110134093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Following the visit of the Russian president to Poland and the Czech Republic, journalists focussed attention, above all, on Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's statement on the possibility of entry of the new Central and Eastern European democracies to Western Europe [as heard]. He said in Warsaw that Russia would not object if Poland asked for NATO membership. At a news conference at Prague Castle Boris Yeltsin then reacted as follows:

[Begin Yeltsin recording, in Russian fading into Czech translation] Now the standard of our relations is that of sovereign states and we think that if the Czech Republic is entering, or intends to enter any European organization or to integrate into Europe, then Russia has no right to hinder it. [end recording]

The speech met with deserved attention and, at the same time, with speculation as to whether he might jeopardize ratification of the new Czech-Russian treaty in the Russian Parliament which, together with some Russian communication media, condemned Yeltsin's words. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, as early as the beginning of this week, spoke against what he considered inadmissible, the isolation of Russia in jeopardizing its security interests.

From this point of view, therefore, yesterday's publication of the letter in which Boris Yeltsin personally warned the highest representatives of the Western states against increasing the number of NATO members by admitting the former East and Central European communist states, comes as no surprise. Instead of this Yeltsin, according to REUTER, proposed that NATO and Russia together guarantee security of Eastern Europe.

The letter sent to France, Germany, the United States, and Britain says that the 1990 agreement on unification of Germany, which had been agreed with these countries by the former USSR, from the legal point of view, prevents NATO from accepting new members. What Yeltsin proposes is that NATO and Russia together guarantee security of Eastern Europe instead of NATO being expanded toward the East, an unnamed diplomat said. Yeltsin also said that he wished that Russian relations with NATO remained a step ahead of the relations between NATO and the former communist satellites of Moscow in East and Central Europe.

While NATO representatives officially refused to comment on Yeltsin's letter, according to diplomats, his proposal could seriously jeopardize the prospects for accepting new members and to exasperate countries such as Poland and Hungary who wish to join NATO on a preferential basis. The question of accepting the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which strive for security guarantees of the West, is one of the key points that will be discussed at the 16 NATO members' summit in Brussels next January.

For us, the change of Boris Yeltsin's attitude is a very unpleasant matter because it questions the credibility of everything Yeltsin has said or will say about the Czech Republic. If, moreover, NATO agrees with Russia we can easily find ourselves in a similar situation as we did at the Munich conference in 1938. It is especially unpleasant for us that Moscow's new standpoint emerges just as we are recalling the Munich anniversary.

Boris Yeltsin stressed in Prague the symbolism of signing the Czech-Russian treaty—a new treaty, based on sovereignty of the two states—on the day of the anniversary of the humiliating Moscow protocols after the invasion to Czechoslovakia by the USSR, that is including the RSFSR. Let us believe that the timing of the above-mentioned Yeltsin's letter has no further symbolism. We understand the complicated situation of the Russian president at home. We understand that he is trying to

win over the entire Army and prevent bloodshed. But we cannot understand such statements without the appropriate diplomatic explanation and talks with our politicians because it is we and our security who are being talked about, but the talks proceed without us.

The policy of sacrificing small countries in the interests of larger ones and, perhaps, even in the interests of peace was once very unlucky for Europe.

Klaus: Developments in Germany Should Be Watched

LD0110230793 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Ceske Budejovice, South Bohemia, Oct 1 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said at the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) executive council meeting today that it was necessary to follow internal developments in Germany very closely.

However, he said, this did not mean that the Czech Republic should be disturbed by the heightened rhetoric of some German leaders. He drew attention to the approaching elections in Germany, and stressed that all politicians would be fighting for the votes of the numerous groups of Sudeten Germans. If we stand united, we do not need to worry about pressure from the north, south or west, he added.

Klaus said that the transformation of agriculture would take longer than that of industry. The privatisation of agricultural cooperatives was not the same as the privatisation of state companies, and will take a while, he said.

The dreams of some fundamentalists that there are thousands of people here who will throw themselves into private farming have not been fulfilled, said Klaus, adding that agriculture was oversized, and that noone wanted to buy the excesses.

On the issue of housing policy Klaus said that the price of housing was a very complex issue. It is easy to put forward a bill on things about which we have a clear opinion. On this issue we are a divided country, he said.

Klaus said considerations concerning whether pensions should rise automatically as soon as the price index went up by three per cent were unrealistic. He said pensions corresponded to the amount the state could afford, and drew attention to the new social welfare system being prepared, which includes a conceptual change in the system of benefit payments.

Republic Not Following Poland

AU0110122893 Prague CTK in English 1851 GMT 29 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 29 (CTK)—The Czech Republic is by no means in danger of following the political path of Poland, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said at a press conference following today's government session.

Klaus thus answered the question of whether or not the Czech Government was afraid of a shift in the Czech Republic's political orientation similar to that which occurred in Poland after the recent parliamentary elections.

The Czech Republic has already passed the Rubicon, stressed Klaus.

Klaus told journalists that at its session today, the Czech Government did not recommend a bill on a referendum drafted by a group of deputies to be submitted to parliament.

He described the bill as an attempt at making a considerable change in the Czech Constitution. The bill on the referendum aims at establishing a direct democracy in the Czech Republic to replace the indirect one which is the basis of the Czech Constitution. It is not a minor amendment but a change in the system, Klaus said.

He pointed to the fact that according to the bill, any move of the state power and every important matter could potentially become a subject for referendum. Klaus said that the government did not approve the bill due reasons of principle but not due to financial ones, although a single referendum would cost hundreds of millions crowns.

Zieleniec Discusses Sudeten German Problem

AU0110191693 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 29 Sep 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Martin Schmarcz; place and date not given: "The Future of Czech-German Relations Corresponds to the Future of Europe"]

[Text] [Schmarcz] We are presently recalling the sad anniversary of the Munich Agreement. At that time, in 1938, the Sudeten German minority served as the reason for retrenching the Czechoslovak Republic [CSFR]. This issue remains a factor in our relationship with Germany. What importance do you ascribe to this problem?

[Zieleniec] I consider it extremely important that the Sudeten German problem should not become the dominant one in our mutual relations. In my opinion, it is of key importance that our relationship with Germany be oriented toward the future. If that is the case, questions of the past and matters concerning the discussion with Sudeten Germans are just a minor element in our relations with Germany.

[Schmarcz] Why does the Czech Republic not act like Poland and simply ignore the demands of those who were expelled? It does not seem that, as a result, Poland has worse relations with Germany than we do.

[Zieleniec] The different position of Poland and Poles with respect to Germany is, to a great extent, caused by the difference in the course World War II took in the two countries. I also believe that Germans view events in

Poland and the Czech Republic differently. This distinction arises precisely because of the different course of history.

At the same time, I believe that the expulsion of Germans from both Poland and Czechoslovakia belongs to World War II. It was approved by the world powers and was based on the dreadful experiences of war. European nations considered it very risky—in view of the horrors of World War II—to maintain the original situation that had actually sparked the war. The ongoing discussion about these matters should not leave this factor out. I do not believe that there is any reason to change this decision by the world powers.

[Schmarcz] When you spoke about how different the German attitude toward Poland is because of the distinct course the war took there, did you also have in mind that, as opposed to us, the Poles have never accepted any dictates along the lines of Munich?

[Zieleniec] Nobody but the citizens of a country themselves can ever be expected to guarantee the security of the state and their own freedom. Historically, attempts to avoid this simple truth have always had to be paid for—for a long time. I believe that it is obvious now that if the Munich crisis had taken a different turn, we would have dealt with the problem of communism differently. It might not have won in Czechoslovakia. Moreover, it is a matter of course that thanks to the Munich dictate, we are perceived by Germany differently than the Poles.

[Schmarcz] The 13 lines in the speech by FRG Foreign Minister Kinkel in which he spoke about the German Government never accepting the wrong of expulsion caused great excitement in the Czech Republic. How do you understand this passage in the context of the entire speech?

[Zieleniec] I would like to say that this does not concern a single speech or this specific passage. The reality is much more serious. Germany is returning, after reunification, to the logic of its history, and the discussions that are taking place there right now typify this trend. Germany is becoming a world power that even endeavors to become a permanent member of the Security Council, a world power eminently interested in the events taking place east of the German border, and a world power that is striving to become an active player in what is happening in Eastern Europe. That is how it was for 1,000 years, and I do not believe that it is a reason for despair. It is a fact with which we have lived in this region for a 1,000 years, and I think successfully. There is a Czech state, we still speak Czech, we have a definite national feeling, and we have achieved and kept all these things regardless of German power. I believe that we can build on our good experiences in our relationship with Germany, and it is extremely important to realize that the relationship with Germany is not a problem that can be solved by some trick or sudden idea. It is a matter that has always been and always will be a permanent part of our national life. To a great extent, Minister Kinkel tried in his speech to take the stand of a German democrat on this logic of German history and find a way toward coexistence with the nations that surround Germany, particularly to the east. This problem has been discussed in Germany for a long time, but the unification and the return of Germany to the group of the most powerful nations in the world is also a challenge for German democrats. Minister Kinkel's speech was an attempt to address these things. Of course, it included the sentences that have been repeated so many times in the Czech Republic, but I believe it is important for us to see the entire spectrum of what is happening in Germany and not certain things from the vantage point of a single group of people, specifically the expelled Sudeten Germans. I believe it is important that what we say of concern to Germany should be unambiguous and that we should not panic because of every word that appears in one of the many diverse speeches comprising the nascent German eastern policy.

[Schmarcz] You mentioned the return of Germany to the logic of its history. This history is inseparable from the existence of numerous minorities beyond the Oder and Neisse Rivers, as well as beyond the Bohemian Forest and Ore Mountains. So this East European policy of Germany could be accompanied by increased pressure from Bonn for talks on "the right to a homeland" for these former minorities. Is this not true?

[Zieleniec] The pressure is obvious. It is clear that the pressure comes from the groups bringing the expelled Germans together. On the other hand, not only we, the nations surrounding Germany, but also responsibly minded Germans see the connection between this problem and the result of World War II as evident and manifest. It represents, in extension, the status quo in Europe that has so far maintained peace in Europe, and that cannot be disturbed without punishment. I do not believe that this problem represents an imminent danger. We must realize that while democratic forces around the world won the Cold War, World War II is also a part of European history and the events taking place right now cannot be separated from those that defined the face of Europe 55 years ago.

[Schmarcz] You said that the Sudeten German problem must not become the focus of Czech-German relations. Nevertheless, it seems that in Germany, the Sudeten German issue is becoming more and more relevant, and at least the Munich government is ready to mediate in this matter. On the other hand, the domestic political issues alone preclude the Czech Government from accepting talks with the Sudeten Germans. So what is the strategy of the Foreign Ministry?

[Zieleniec] I would not say that talks with the Sudeten Germans at the government level are impossible simply for reasons of domestic policy—that is, because our citizens do not accept them. Talks at the government level would be a mistake in themselves because they would elevate the Sudeten German issue to the level of the central problem of Czech-German relations. The

events leading to the expulsion and the expulsion itself were an integral part of the greatest horror our continent has ever experienced. I am convinced that because of this, these events must be left for historians to discuss. These matters are closed politically and legally, and it is important that those people who want to reopen them know that they are opening the results of World War II with all the consequences that may have. Therefore, I believe that we have the responsibility not only to our state but, to a great degree, we also bear the responsibility to ensure that it is not us who reopens the discussion on the outcome of World War II. I believe that we must unequivocally draw the attention of Germany and the Germans to this fact and not allow the signals coming out of our republic on this issue to be vague. The policy on Germany cannot be an object of an ad hoc experiment during the talks. It cannot be burdened with spontaneity and attempts at finding a magical and fast solution. On the other hand, we must develop broad-scale cooperation with Germany that will have all the dimensions of cooperation between neighboring states, from the economic and cultural dimensions to the political one. Furthermore, I believe that the European scope of our policy is very important. The emerging united Europe is a great chance for us—and the reason for this is that Czech-German relations will cease to be just a bilateral issue and will become part of Europe-wide political life. Of course, it also is very important how Europe will look. Therefore, I believe it is important that we take part in discussions about the European future. That is just a part of our discussion about the relationship with Germany.

ODS on State Administrative Arrangement Reform

AU0410115993 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Prague, Sept 30 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS), as a pragmatic and responsible party, is seeking future territorial administrative setup for the Czech Republic that would not allow chaos in the country and not increase expenditures for the state administration, Czech Prime Minister and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus told journalists today.

He refuted information that the ODS had two alternatives for administrative arrangement, saying that the ODS did not feel that as a governing party it should use its preferential powers in a matter of such key importance for country's future development.

Klaus said the document entitled the principles of further approach in the territorial administrative arrangement, worked out jointly by Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda and Interior Minister Jan Ruml, was included in the agenda of the next government session October 6.

Chairman of the ODS parliamentary group Jiri Honajzer said it was not the question of how many higher territorial entities would exist within the Czech Republic which matters, but what is more important is to start reform and come to a general consensus.

Klaus said a fatal political question was not whether the republic would be divided into eight or thirteen higher self-governing regions, but that the totalitarian regime should be abolished through a distinct decentralization of decision making.

He said the role of the state in a stabilized society is different from that in transitional period of economic transformation. In the transformation period this role is greater, whether we want it or not, Klaus stressed.

That is why we seek that any change in our territorial administrative setup does not undermine the chances of the state in pursuing its epochal task of social transformation from the totalitarian communist regime and centrally planned state-owned economy to a democratic market society and economy, Klaus said. He added that the ODS could not agree that the state's clear and unambiguous duty to carry out and complete transformation would be interfered with under the pretext of seeking an optimal territorial arrangement for the republic.

A totalitarian regime could be transformed into a democratic system and a market economy either through an incredibly expensive and lengthy way of chaos and anarchy, which should be avoided, or through regulated and controlled measures which presume the existence of certain powers of a central power and a centralized state, Klaus said.

Our goal consists of maintaining the rational transformation path which we have been maintaining since November 1989 up to until now, Klaus said.

Foreign Minister Reiterates Support for Yeltsin

LD0410082293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, who is on a visit to New York, has commented on the situation in Russia. He told a Slovak news agency [TASR] reporter that our position remains unchanged. We have expressed our support for the reforms of President Yeltsin. We assume that the whole situation will eventually be resolved nonviolently and democratic methods will be used. Jozef Moravcik, head of Slovak diplomacy, said.

Ministry 'Disturbed' by Yeltsin Letter on NATO

LD0110191693 Prague CTK in English 1851 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 1 (CTK)—The Slovak Foreign Ministry is disturbed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin's letter to heads of Western states warning against the admittance of former East bloc countries into NATO, Director of the ministry's Press Office Roman Buzek said today.

He said the content of Yeltsin's announcement contrasted sharply with the official attitude which Yeltsin had presented during his recent visit to Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. This present attitude was not in the spirit of the creation of international relations founded on the principle of partnership and respect for the sovereign right of nations.

Unlike President Yeltsin, the Foreign Ministry firmly believes that the acceptance of the central European countries into NATO is not directed against the interests of Russia, but will contribute to the strengthening of stability in Europe, Buzek said.

Anton Bodis, spokesman for Slovak President Michal Kovac, said the president would not officially react to Yeltsin's letter for the time being.

He said that according to foreign policy experts in the president's office, Yeltsin had not indicated anything of this sort during his visit to Bratislava at the end of August. If anything, he emphasised the importance of equality in the building of international relations, by which every country had the inalienable right to develop contacts with states or groups of states at its own discretion, Bodis continued. From this, and on the basis of previous Slovak-Russian talks, he had not gained the impression that Russia wanted to stop Slovakia from joining NATO, he said.

State Secretary Comments

LD0110192693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Interview with Jan Lisuch, Slovak secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by correspondent Michal Tvarozek in Bratislava on 1 October—recorded]

[Text] [no opening question as heard] [Lisuch] The statement by Yeltsin, of course, is another development. The ministry has responded accordingly. Each country has its sovereign right to treat its security as it deems necessary. We are, naturally, interested in joining NATO. We interpret Yeltsin's comment as a step by which he is trying to make Slovakia, and Slovak diplomacy, adopt a certain stance. We cannot and will not agree to this, of course.

[Tvarozek] Let me ask you: Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs see this as a clear step away from the original stance, whereby Slovakia, or the Czech Republic, and also Poland—which has been mentioned—should direct itself not toward a NATO security system but a kind of European security system?

[Lisuch] The NATO structure and the building of a pan-European security system are not mutually exclusive. So far, however, the European security system has not been built. It is for this reason that Slovakia wishes to acquire an umbrella to protect its security interests. We have been saying quite openly that our entry into NATO is in no way directed against our eastern neighbors.

[Tvarozek] How else would you interpret, then, Yeltsin's change of tack from what he signed here in Bratislava a few days ago to what he is saying now?

[Lisuch] Such a statement can be the evidence of one thing only, namely that Yeltsin is under pressure from right-wing, ultra-conservative forces that aim to put a brake on the democratic process that Yeltsin has been pushing through. One can see it like that.

[Tvarozek] State Secretary, does it mean that under the pressure of this statement, Slovak foreign policy will in no way change its course?

[Lisuch] It will not do so under any circumstances. Its course will be integration into the existing political, economic, and security systems in Europe.

[Tvarozek] Oriented toward NATO?

[Lisuch] Oriented toward NATO, the Council of Europe, the EC, and the Western European Union.

Meciar Explains Russia's Interest in Slovakia

LD0110204393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar met with journalists in Modra-Harmonia today. He was asked about his views on the situation in Russia. It seems unlikely that the prime minister had by then been briefed about Boris Yeltsin's letter on the former Warsaw Pact countries' membership of NATO. His reply, therefore, represents his general views on the development in the Russian Federation.

[Begin Meciar recording] I am relatively well informed about how things are going to develop. [The situation]

will not damage the interests of the Slovak Republic. It does not mean there will be bloodshed in Russia. There is no threat of civil war [breaking out as a result] of the conflict.

As for our relations with Russia, we are trying to base these on [specific] interests. What interest does Russia have in Europe and in our country? The interest is transparent: They want to have a guarantee of free goods transit through Slovak territory. They have restricted access to the seas. The inland port of Cierna nad Tisou is interesting [for them], they want to go further west through this port. They want to have a guaranteed crude oil and gas line through our territory. They want to be within the radius of, or have acces to, nuclear power stations such as they have had up to now. They want to get somewhere—and settle there—where their commercial institutions could mediate more contacts with the rest of the West European countries.

They assume this place could be Slovakia. We assume we could have substantial financial gain out of this. We see nothing political behind it, because the dominant influence [in this area] will be that of the EC.

Therefore, I don't think the current political development in Russia will affect us in any way. The only exception is the extreme option—a civil war. As far as I know, this will not happen. [end recording]

Bank Governor Says No Fear of Devaluation

LD0210220893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Excerpt] At present, there is no reason to fear a devaluation. Hard currency reserves of the National Bank of Slovakia have grown significantly and today they are significantly higher than they were at the time of Czechoslovakia's split or at the time of the currency split. This was stated by Vladimir Masar, governor of the National Bank of Slovakia, in an interview granted to Radiozurnal after his return from the annual session of the International Monetary Fund in Washington. He stressed that Slovakia's balance of payments is positive both vis-a-vis the world and vis-a-vis the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

Toth Denies Allegations on Sugar Trade

AU0410123293 Prague CTK in English 0835 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Washington, Sept 30 (CTK)—Allegations printed in the Slovak daily SME on September 29 that barter exports of sugar were used to help unblock Slovak claims in India were rejected by Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth today.

The commodity had not been approved by the government for use in this manner, according to trading agreements between the two countries, the paper said. It claimed that as a result $22 million in profits had remained abroad. What is more, the paper's source reported that Toth and other participants of the trade, including Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka, divided up the amount between themselves.

In response, Toth told CTK, I can say that the only thing true in the whole affair is that debts have been unblocked in India.

Toth is currently in Washington attending an annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

SME Claims 'More Information'

AU0410123193 Prague CTK in English 0932 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Sep 30 (CTK)— Many Slovak newspapers today report on what has variously been called the sugar affair and Indiagate. The affair began when on September 28 the daily SME accused Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth, together with Vladimir Masar, Slovak National Bank governor, and Jaroslav Kubecka, the economics minister, and a host of Czech secret agents, of depriving Slovakia's economy of about 22 million USD in connection with a barter deal exporting sugar from India without government approval.

The tabloid NOVY CAS interviews Toth, currently in America, who insists that only one percent of the media-made claims are true, namely that Indian debt claims were unblocked.

The former economics minister and now Slovak National Party (SNS) Chairman Ludovit Cernak says in the same paper that at the time of his resignation in March a draft trade agreement had been prepared with India but sugar did not figure in it. He claims he was at no time contacted regarding the matter and denied that the SNS was behind the affair. His party proposes that the affair no longer be the plaything of the media and be investigated by a parliamentary commission.

The trade union daily PRACA in turn interviews the editor in chief of SME Karol Jezik. While admitting that editorial conduct had not been entirely professional, he says he is confident that Slovakia will ultimately benefit. He claims to have more information on the case. Just as parliamentarians have the right to sue the media, the media has the right to publicize its findings, he says. [passage omitted]

Plans To Set Up Information Ministry Denied

AU0410115693 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 30 (CTK)—The Slovak Government has not been planning, is not planning and will not plan a Ministry of Information, according to a Slovak Government Press Department statement, given to CTK today by its director Ondrej Hanko.

The statement refutes information from Slovak Culture Ministry Roman Zelenay, who has recently spoken of the planned Information Ministry.

In an interview with the daily SME on September 29, Zelenay said, among other things, that there should be such an office on a governmental level, as the non-governmental one exercises no influence. He pointed to corporate giants which allocate huge funds for propaganda. One of the tasks of such a ministry, he said, could be to secure information for foreign journalists. Zelenay said the Ministry of Information could appear in Slovakia within two months.

According to certain sources, the Slovak Government resolutely rejected Zelenay's project for the establishment of a Ministry of Information at its meeting on September 28.

Government Denies Inviting Pinochet To Visit

AU0410123693 Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sept 30 (CTK)—Leader of the Chilean Army and former dictator Augusto Pinochet was not invited to Slovakia by the Slovak Government, according to a statement made by the Press and Information Department of the Slovak Government Office today.

In the statement, department head Ondrej Hanko says that the government has no information about the visit that several global press agencies reported that Pinochet planned to make to Slovakia.

SNS Specifies Stand on Early Elections

AU0410124093 Prague CTK in English 1349 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, Sep 30 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) would support early elections in the second half of 1994 at the earliest, SNS Deputy Chairman Anton Hrnko said today.

At present, parliament could support the government under certain circumstances, Hrnko said, but did not elaborate.

Hrnko said that even though his party had approved the law on church property, it expected difficulties in its implementation because the government had not provided any figures on the property.

The law was approved by parliament late last night. It was supported by 76 deputies out of the 106 present, 20 deputies voted against it and ten abstained. The Slovak Parliament has 150 seats.

Hrnko dismissed rumors that anybody linked to the SNS would have been entangled in the sugar scandal, adding that it should be the government's paramount interest that the scandal be properly investigated.

The opposition Slovak daily SME wrote on September 28 that the Slovak economy had been deprived of 22 million USD when barter exports of sugar were used to help unblock Slovak claims in India, though the commodity had not been approved by the government.

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 1 October on page 3 carries a 300-word TA SR report on the SNS briefing. The report quotes Hrnko as having specified that "from the international viewpoint, it would be very dangerous, after the experience from Lithuania and Poland, if elections in Slovakia were held prior to the elections in Hungary. Therefore, should the question of early elections become topical, the SNS would agree, but not before the second half of 1994." According to the TA SR report, Hrnko also "said that SNS deputies maintain friendly relations with many colleagues from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Official talks with that movement without SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak are out of the question, however. SNS Deputy Chairman Peter Sokol confirmed that he had met with Vladimir Meciar with the knowledge of the party leadership. They spoke about problems of domestic policy life. They agreed that political destabilization was being carried into the activity of government structures, which does not contribute to solving Slovakia's substantive problems."]

Weiss Interviewed on Leftist Policy

AU0110192493 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 93 p 5

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Marian Lesko; place and date not given: "A Repetition Would Not Solve the Crisis"]

[Text] Last week there were some interesting shifts on the left of the political spectrum in Slovakia as well as abroad. We interviewed Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], about these deviations.

[Lesko] We know that you participated in the celebrations held in Bologne in memory of Alexander Dubcek. You arrived in Italy before the official delegation. Can you tell us why?

[Weiss] I was invited to Bologne by P. Fassin, international secretary of the Italian Party of the Democratic Left. He invited me for a roundtable discussion that was organized by L'UNITA. I spoke with S.H. Fisher, chairman of the Austrian Parliament and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party; M. Zeman, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party; and P. Roman, former Romanian prime minister and chairman of the Democratic Party, about the situation in Central and East Europe and about cooperation between democratic leftist parties. We discussed the Socialist International and the results of the Polish elections.

[Lesko] What do you think about these results? Have you had an opportunity to speak with Alexander Kwasniewski?

[Weiss] Poland is certainly an important country. Poland is also an important party in the Visegrad Four. The victory of the Polish left is a kind of indicator of what the people reject—not the transformation of the economy but specific steps that are made irrespective of the impact on social matters. It is also an indication of the fact that people expect politicians to be competent and have class. People reject yet another ideologization of simple problems. The results are a clear indication of the fact that capable people cannot be forever excluded from taking part in implementing fundamental changes in society simply because they were once members of the ruling party. Since it was not only the Democratic Left Party that won the elections but also agricultural parties and labor unions, we need to evaluate the shift toward the left from a sociological viewpoint and abstain from ideology. A historic opportunity arose for the leftist parties in Poland to show that changes can be made differently from the way that the rightist parties would. I have not spoken with Kwasniewski, but I have drafted a letter that I am going to send him. I have known him for a long time, and I believe that he will withstand the test that awaits him.

[Lesko] In Slovakia, there is also a shift toward the left. Rudolf Filkus supports the social democratic ideology. The For a Democratic Slovakia chairman noticed that his movement also includes people who support this ideology. They speak about blocks and factions....

[Weiss] In all the post-communist countries, the social democratic policy consists of three streams: traditional social democracy, transformed post-communist parties (such as the Slovak SDL or the Hungarian Socialist Party), and groups that were established from civic-resistance movements at the end of the 1980's. In Slovakia, we have a unique situation, since our party concluded a cooperation agreement with the Social Democratic Party and we cooperate with the farmers' movements. This enables us to expand the scope of social democratic policy, unlike in other countries where these parties engage in a struggle among themselves. It does not help establish good cooperation if some Social Democratic Party of Slovakia members raise doubts about SDL members. They forget that their own ranks include a large number of former communists and people who would have problems if they applied for SDL membership. However, does such criticism improve mutual understanding and cooperation? Everyone has made his own decision as to which party to join and this is why I welcome what J. Volf said in his recent interview for PRAVDA. Since the programs of the leftist parties are similar, they should not fight against one another but should expand the social aspect of democratic-left policy. However, we have a problem here: Some people say that even if we totaled the percentage that the SDL and the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia receive in confidence polls—that is, 15 plus 2 percent—we would not be able to conduct an influential policy. They maintain that we would need 30 percent for that. But, who are those trustworthy politicians who could help raise the remaining 13 percent? Certainly not the people who claim, after three years [since 1990], that they are social democrats. It certainly would not be convincing if former communists who, after the revolution, became members of the Public Against Violence movement and voted for explicitly rightist policy in the former federal parliament or in the Slovak National Council, now started to give us lessons in social democratic ideology and pretended that they should be more respected by the public than the SDL members.

[Lesko] The minority government is strongly criticized. Some people are even asking why the opposition has not done away with the government if it is so bad.

[Weiss] I have heard politicians ask the same question. They even suggested it. Our party has never engaged in adventurous policy, and I have never supported any political steps without knowing what the next step should be. It is true that the one-party government—which has been supported by the Slovak National Party for a long time—has overestimated its strength, and it is also true that the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement has overestimated its own homogeneity. We have always believed that in the complicated conditions that arose after Slovakia's independence, the transformation of our society should be carried out by several political parties sharing power. Because of the minority government and its style of ruling—and because of the differences among the opposition parties—we are now facing a deep domestic political crisis. To overcome it, we must find a democratic and long-term solution. I do not believe that it would be a good solution if the Party of the Democratic Left helped create a situation that would bring people onto the streets, since those who have helped create this profound crisis by conducting an intolerant policy would once again divide the power among themselves. When I talk about a democratic solution, I am referring to a solution that would be the result of a wider political consensus and would be accepted by the people. This is why I believe that it would be unfortunate if the situation that we had two years ago repeated itself. We know what effect that had on society. I am convinced that if spring 1991 repeated itself, it would only be an illusory solution to the crisis. I have the feeling that there are politicians who yearn for power and do not want to undergo the test of elections. People would show whether they still trust the politicians who have been active in politics for several years. This is why I believe that consensus among political parties could help improve stability more than merely replacing people in their positions.

[Lesko] We have learned that you are going to spend the next three weeks in France. Are you not afraid that something important could happen in Slovakia, something that you might miss? What are you going to do in France, anyway?

[Weiss] Of course, many things can happen in politics in the span of three weeks. However, we have the Constitution and clear game rules. I do not see any reason why my visit to France—where I was invited by the French foreign minister—should cause any complications. I am to meet representatives of parliamentary factions in the French National Assembly. I want to visit the Commissioner General's Office for Planning. This office carries out analyses and prognoses regarding the country's development. I am interested in the reform of the French state administration and the experience they acquired with that reform. I want to visit several departments. I want to learn more about regional policy. I will not fail to visit institutions involved in politics. I want a full answer to my question of how Central Europe and Slovakia are perceived by French policy, and I want to know what the prospects for our cooperation are.

[Lesko] Is that all?

[Weiss] On 14 October, I will meet with Pierre Mauro, president of the Socialist International. I would like to give him a letter containing the SDL's application for membership in the Socialist International.

Antall Reacts to Latest Russian Events

LD0310193893 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] [Announcer] Boris Yeltsin has declared a state of emergency. Mr. Prime Minister is on the line to react to the latest developments. Hello.

[Antall] Hello.

[Announcer] Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Antall] Good evening.

[Announcer] I would like to inquire about your reaction to the latest news from Moscow, that is the declaration of the state of emergency and the occupation of the Russian TV building in Ostankino. There is shooting, casualties...

[Antall] Unfortunately, these events could be calculated. They, however, have not apparently changed the stand of the governments of the great powers or our stance. We are supporting the policy of President Yeltsin and I am convinced that he will overcome this situation. Thus, we are supporting the reform forces and Yeltsin, and I trust that with the introduction of the state of emergency and other measures he will be able to restore order, and no such problem which would mean the victory of the restoration forces or some kind of a crisis concerning the whole world will arise.

That is how the events can be evaluated for the time being. In Hungary we have no problems regarding energy, there are no signs either, nor have we any problems in connection with our pilots who are being trained over there. Therefore, I think that at the moment we can be optimistic in every aspect in spite of the latest developments.

Interviewed on NATO

LD0310235093 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Joszef Antall by unidentified correspondent on 3 October, place not given; from the "The Week" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Notwithstanding their awareness of today's events and news from Moscow, Jozsef Antall and his government continue to take a stand on the side of Boris Yeltsin who represents the reforms. This is what the prime minister said among other things in an interview he gave late afternoon in our program. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How does Yeltsin's idea that he would refrain from Hungary's and Poland's admission to the NATO affect Hungary? What clashes of interest would it bring?

[Antall] [passage omitted] I think that it is unwise for either side to take a stand now in this issue in a very defined manner. The fact is that these countries are sovereign countries. [passage omitted]

I think that the leading countries of NATO will have to take two things into account [at their January summit] and they will obviously do so. On the one hand, they will take into account the position of Yeltsin and the Russian reform forces, the situation of Russia, and concerns there. On the other hand, they are clear in their mind about the fact that a destabilized Russia or anti-reform restoration success—which I too would not like to happen—justifies even more that this region should, unambiguously, catch up with and integrate into NATO.

[Correspondent] There were elections in Poland and there will be elections in Hungary in 1994. Some political forces see it [outcome of Polish elections] as a kind of prediction for the Hungarian elections, and refer for instance to the alliance of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the trade unions, which could really be a prefiguration [elokep] of the '94 elections. What is more, they even say that perhaps Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is rather afraid of it. Are you really?

[Antall] I have feared few things in my life, thus this expression that I am afraid of it was not a fortunate one. However, this is only a formal point. I am not afraid of a left-wing advance. I am not afraid that the Hungarian Socialist Party and the trade unions, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, and other left-wing youth organizations and others that are now getting together a serious left-wing danger in Hungary. I am not afraid of it, but action must be taken against it, within of course, the means and frameworks of a parliamentary democracy. [passage omitted]

The Polish situation, the Polish political set up is different, therefore no comparison can be made. Thus, what happened in Poland is by no means likely to happen in Hungary, too. So it is too early for Chairman [of the Hungarian Socialist Party] Gyula Horn and his party to perform a kind of political Indian dance around the fire to already celebrate victory in the next election year, the dominance of some left-wing trend. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It is perhaps not incidental that the idea was voiced in Hungary according to which it would be good if Hungarian extremists, from right and left alike, could get in parliament, because it would be easier to control them. Prime Minister, what do you think of this?

[Antall] If I am not mistaken, this idea was raised by President Arpad Goncz, not in the capacity of a president, but in the political academy of the [Austrian] People's Party in Vienna. He said this as a quasi-private person and the use of it would be that if there were leftist and rightist extremists in parliament, they could be kept under parliamentary control. I would not like to enter into discussion with the president on this issue, all the more so, because he said this as a private person during a debate at a political academy.

[Correspondent] I am sorry to mention this, but everybody knows that this was said by him.

[Antall] Well, I am aware of the fact that newspapers also carried this statement. All I can say is that I do not share this view, because four and five percent itself, that is, either we keep the limit of four percent to get in parliament, or we raise the limit to five percent. I would consider it bad if extremism of more than five percent could get into the National Assembly of Hungary. I would consider it bad from a foreign political point of view, and I would consider it bad as far as the of image of Hungary is concerned. Likewise, I would consider it bad from a domestic political point of view, that is, such political forces should not be allowed to exert their activities in parliament.

I completely agree with what [Konrad] Adenauer or Franz Josef Strauss did, that is, they did not allow the existence of political forces even more to the right than the Christian Democratic Union or the Christian Social Union. This should not particularly be made possible in a country that easily gets charged with extremism. If the French police disperse a demonstration in Paris, or if the mounted police rides into a mob or into the demonstration of miners in London, nobody will ask the French or British diplomacy about it. Should this happen in Germany, Italy, or Hungary, the judgement is already there, that is, former axis countries, former fascist countries, so it is possible to have articles written in the world press from here, compromising us. [passage omitted]

Fur Comments on NATO, Ties With Russia

LD0110191093 Budapest MTI in English 1758 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 1 (MTI)—In its quest for NATO membership, Hungary has to consider NATO's standpoints, while NATO, thus far, has always been mindful of Russian interests, Hungary's Defence Minister Lajos Fur told a news conference in Moscow on Friday, the final day of his visit to Russia.

Fur returned to Budapest on Friday afternoon after holding a lecture at the Russian Staff Officer Academy.

Speaking to journalists, the minister said Hungary made no secret of its intention to join NATO. If and when Hungary and the other central European countries become NATO members depends mainly on NATO and in no small measure on Russia's interests and ambitions.

Fur said his counterpart Pavel Grachev had told him that Russia would find it disturbing if ex-Warsaw pact countries became NATO members, as this might in turn lead to Russia's isolation. Outlining his talks with Grachev, Fur said it was necessary to look for ways of creating a general European security system covering every European country, including Russia and the other soviet successor states. It is possible that such a system would emerge within a NATO framework, he added.

Fur quoted Grachev as saying that the Russian Government has no prejudices towards NATO, but has in mind the creation of a European security system.

He told reporters that good relations with Russia and Ukraine were crucial for Hungary's army.

Hungary wants to buy part of its military technology from Russia and Ukraine in the future as well, since 80 per cent of its current arsenals consist of Soviet and Russian equipment, the replacing of which would take 15-20 years. The remaining military devices are to be obtained from western and domestic sources.

Regarding the conclusion of a military technology cooperation agreement with Russia, Fur told his counterpart that if the second tranche of Russian debt could also be settled by military equipment deliveries, Hungary would be interested in strengthening its air defence capabilities.

Stance on NATO Unchanged by Yeltsin Letter

LD0110164393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Excerpts] It has confirmed in Bonn that [Russian President] Yeltsin has sent a letter asking West European countries not to support former Warsaw Pact countries' NATO membership. [passage omitted] What is the Hungarian Government's stance on this? What is the Foreign Ministry's stance? I put these questions to [ministry spokesman] Janos Herman.

[Begin Herman recording] I cannot comment on the letter itself because I have not seen it. What I can talk about is the issue itself. It is known that both the Hungarian foreign minister and the defense minister recently held talks with their Russian counterparts. We have first hand information on the Russian stance. The essence of hitherto statements is that Russia respects Hungary's sovereign decision concerning relations with NATO. We can proceed from this. [end recording]

[Announcer] So our country seems not to have changed its stance following Yeltsin's letter.

Socialist Party President on Russian Crisis

LD0110174093 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 30 (MTI)—Hungary has an interest in a quick, peaceful settlement of the Russian home policy crisis and the continuation of the reform started by Gorbachev, Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) President Gyula Horn told an economic forum in Zahony, eastern Hungary, on Thursday.

Horn said it was very difficult to predict how the conflict between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov would end. The outcome may either be peace or civil conflict in Russia, he added.

The HSP president hoped the solution would be peaceful, and the political and economic changes would go on.

He stressed Russian consolidation was extremely important for Eastern Europe from the economic point of view.

Press Views Current Developments in Moscow

LD0410105793 Budapest MTI in English 1049 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, October 4 (MTI)—"Russia is not Bosnia and the Russian capital is not Sarajevo. Russia, albeit sagged, is still a nuclear great power. If passions break loose there, this may entail consequences that are difficult to foresee even for Hungary," Monday's NEPSZABADSAG writes.

"The crowd that demonstrated in front of the Moscow White House was not the one that hailed Yeltsin during the coup against Gorbachev.

"Yeltsin failed to use the stalemate, the almost-two-week period of dual power, for finding a way out of the crisis.

"It remains to be seen what happens far from Moscow - how the local leaders, who showed little loyalty to Yeltsin over the past weeks, react to the events.

"The time of justice has come for the Russian president. Most probably, he will have to take a more resolute action if he wants to protect the obviously fragile Russian democracy from total anarchy and civil war," NEPSZABADSAG says.

"It is obvious that not the people but an incensed and desperate crowd stands opposed to its president. What is going on in the Russian capital is not a revolution but black anarchy. The sword of Damocles is hanging over the Kremlin," MAGYAR HIRLAP says.

"The state of emergency now declared creates a chance for Yeltsin to restore order and, still behind the trenches of legality, settle the bill with its most dangerous political opponents, and dispel the legend spread by him two years ago that if the Moscow people go to the streets, the tanks sent against them retreat," MAGYAR NEMZET says.

Foreign Minister Addresses UN General Assembly

LD0110194393 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] New York, September 30 (MTI)—There are positive signs that even the most intricate problems can be solved with political courage and willingness to compromise, Hungary's Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told the U.N. General Assembly on Thursday.

Hungary would like to see the European Community, the Council of Europe, and NATO gradually spread east, Jeszenszky said.

He noted that newly unleashed and officially sanctioned currents of political and ethnic fundamentalism had started conflicts threatening the security of the entire continent.

The South Slav conflict might not stay limited to the war-torn territories of Bosnia and Croatia. The plague was spreading in Serbia itself, where various ethnic communities, including the Hungarian minority of Vojvodina, are under increasing pressure.

It was vital for these ethnic communities and national minorities to have adequate protection, and he said guaranteeing their rights was crucial to settling the crisis.

Jeszenszky spoke on the damage to Hungary from U.N. sanctions against rump Yugoslavia.

The international community should pay more attention to problems facing third countries in general, Jeszenszky warned.

Referring to obstructed water traffic on the Danube, he said it was totally unacceptable for countries which observe the U.N. Charter to be subjected to retaliatory measures.

Jeszenszky stated that Hungary supported plans to create the post of high commissioner for human rights as soon as possible.

Germany and Japan might now qualify for permanent membership of the Security Council, Jeszenszky felt.

Jeszenszky on Possible Solution to Balkan Crisis

LD0110195093 Budapest MTI in English 2041 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] New York, September 30 (MTI)—'I stressed the need for a comprehensive solution to the south Slav conflict during bilateral foreign minister's talks in New York,' Hungary's Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told a news conference on Thursday.

'I called attention to current conditions in Vojvodina, and the real dangers threatening local Hungarians,' he said.

Jeszenszky spoke separately on his discussions with his Russian, German, Israeli, Dutch, Turkish and Yugoslav counterparts.

Regarding the latter, he said 'While Belgrade speaks about its interest in improving links and its good intentions towards Hungary and ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina, its words contradict the moves it has taken in relation to the Danube, the Yugoslav press or Vojvodina'. 'We discussed how this contradiction could be lifted,' he added.

Answering a question on Bosnia, Jeszenszky told MTI that 'Hungary can at best pray for a successful agreement.'

'I understand that the Muslim population wants guarantees after all those sufferings, but I would still be glad if an agreement was reached, which, if not satisfactory to all, could become the basis for a compromise and a safer future.

'America's participation in the peace-keeping mission would be important for a Bosnian settlement and its extension, say, to croatia,' he said. Hungary's position on Russia is clear: economic recovery needs political stability.

The foreign minister rejected assumptions that the Russian events should be watched in a mood of panic, or that a parallel could be drawn between election results in Poland and political prospects in Hungary.

Goncz Views Minorities, Council of Europe Summit

AU0110153693 Vienna KURIER in German 1 Oct 93 p 5

[Report on interview with President Arpad Goncz by Stefan Galoppi; place and date not given: "We Want To Join the EC"]

[Text] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz is the most popular politician of his country and is regarded as a moral authority. On the sidelines of the Austrian People's Party [OeVP] September Academy, the KURIER interviewed him:

On the Problem of Minorities

"A satisfied minority is not dangerous, a dissatisfied one is dangerous. Three million Hungarians live outside our borders. In order to preserve their identity, we are pursuing two objectives: We want speedily to become an EC member and form a transparent border, like that between Austria and Germany. We want an internationally secured human rights charter. Those who want to belong to the joint Europe, are to be committed to its observance."

On the Vienna Council of Europe Summit

"The meeting might be an important step in this direction. In the past three years, Europe achieved more for minorities than in the 50 years before. A charter can certainly be formulated more quickly than it is adhered to. However, when the rules have been established, they will be observed in the course of time."

On the Ex-Communists' Victory in Poland and Its Exemplary Effect

"The past has not returned in Poland. In difficult transition periods, the pendulum simply swings strongly both ways. As president, I do not want to influence the coming elections in Hungary. I only want to say this much: I completely trust the people's wisdom."

On the Russian Struggle for Power

"[Russian] President Yeltsin embodies the promise of democracy. For Hungary it is extraordinarily important that the reforms continue in Russia. I have the justified hope that they will continue."

Antall To Head MDF National List in Elections

AU0110134693 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, 30 Sep (MTI)—Although the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) will finalize its national list for the 1994 general elections next January, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is certain to head it. HDF Managing President Sandor Lezsak told the press on Thursday [30 September].

Lezsak was officially inaugurated into the post of managing president at an HDF National Presidium session Wednesday night [29 September]. He will hold the post during the general elections.

At the press briefing, Party Spokesman Karoly Herenyi said the HDF had lived through a long and serious crisis but could run in the 1994 elections as a strong candidate.

Herenyi said, in Party Chairman Antall's view, elaborated on Wednesday night, political developments outside Hungary's borders were disturbing and the constitutional crisis in Russia increased the danger in the region.

Antall hoped President Boris Yeltsin and his reformist forces would be able to curb all intentions at restoration which may jeopardize the economic and political transformation in Russia.

The HDF National Presidium replaced Lajos Fur as one of the party's vice-presidents with Parliamentary Group Leader Imre Konya.

Government Establishes Information Bureau

LD0110201993 Budapest MTI in English 1559 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] budapest, October 1 (MTI)—Further developing its public relations office, the Hungarian Government has set up its information bureau, state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office Tamas Katona reported on Friday.

The information bureau fulfills the government's obligation to regularly report on government work and establish dialogue between society and government, Katona said.

One of the bureau's main tasks will be to inform the foreign public, of which it seeks to rely on ministries and academic institutions.

From now on, the prime minister's press office, serving the prime minister's personal information and issuing communiques, the government spokesperson's office, providing daily information, and the Information Bureau will be equal units of the prime minister's office, but the new bureau will ease the burdens of the other two since it undertakes "more strategic information," Katona said.

MTI Outlines Structure

LD0310182793 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI)—The National Information Bureau, set up by the government on October 1, will be headed by Domokos Gyorgy Varga, a communique by the prime minister's press office reported on Sunday.

The National Information Bureau is to complement the work of the government spokesperson's office, headed by Judit Juhasz, and that of the prime minister,s press office, headed by Andras Varhelyi.

All three offices belong to the prime minister's cabinet office, and are headed by cabinet chief Endre Marinovich. International information work will be helped by an inter-ministerial committee to be set up soon.

Costs of the new bureau are covered by the prime minister's press office from funds allocated by the central budget to informational work.

The prime ministerial decision will not affect the work and scope of authority of state secretary Tamas Katona, who will continue to fulfil tasks related to general information policy, the communique says.

Horn Views MSZP Position, Future Coalition

AU0110171893 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Zsolt Hunyor; place and date not given: "It Always Takes Two To Bargain"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Hunyor] Where does the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], which is well known to have the biggest group of experts and welcomes the various views with a lot of tolerance, place itself on the political palette, and which line or platform do its determining forces support?

[Horn] The major forces support pragmatism. We do have debates, but their subject is policy search rather than ministerial or state secretarial positions. When we commit ourselves to the country's stability, we also seek the points that will ensure economic growth. We have very few theoretical debates compared to the amount of debates on practical issues, and these are focused on "the desirable role of the state" or "how the state administration's reform should be implemented." Those who attack the state usually ignore the fact that our journey in Central-Eastern Europe is different from that of the Western societies. In these, capitalism was built from the grass roots upwards. In Hungary, the state property and the system of state interference have to be divided up starting at the top. I would like to generate discussions that will help us find a way that is best suited to our social and economic conditions and which will lead us out of our particular transitory situation.

[Hunyor] The MSZP has various platforms that markedly represent the social consensus and pragmatic development possibilities. Where are the dividing lines within the party?

[Horn] [Passage omitted] Two issues definitely have to be clarified. Namely, until what point can people living on wages and salaries bear the costs of the changes. Is it possible for the real earnings and living standards to decrease anymore, even for a few years? In my view, this process has to be stopped. It is just not enough to talk about this. It is also necessary to urgently find the already mentioned points where development can start. Naturally, I am not talking about restoring the egalitarian system because, in this case, it would have been a waste of time to start the process of changes. However, we need a more just sharing of the burdens. If we continue to carry on the way we do, a Latin-American type society might evolve. It is also a lie when certain entrepreneurs claim that they should be allowed to become rich and then they will raise the poor people. Someone who becomes rich will be even richer later and will not care about the well-being of others. At the same time, in my view, this is a very complicated issue, and the state should firmly become involved in giving effective incentives to the entrepreneurs and only burden them with taxes and other duties when they are already strong, rather than from the very beginning. It is only the cow rather than the calf that can be milked. We have discussions in the party on issues like this. At the same time, we are in complete agreement on major issues like the education system, defense, relations with the neighbors or the churches. However, we have, and we will probably continue to have, debates over several economic and social issues because society's tensions and doubts can also be felt in the MSZP. [passage omitted]

[Hunyor] The socialists promise many things for the 1994-1996 period if they get into governmental position as a winning party or as a coalition partner. Are your promises well founded?

[Horn] I want to correct you because you cannot quote any sentences on the MSZP promising anything for the period until 1996. We do not actually have such a document.

[Hunyor] At the same time, the governmental goals for the remaining period might create a situation that ties your hands.

[Horn] In my view, these things operate in a different way in politics. Depending on the results of the 1994

elections, the president of the Republic will instruct the most successful party to start coalition talks. I am convinced that the country will need a coalition. None of the parties will have absolute majority. After this, the steps that are vitally important for the country's future will have to be coordinated. What I mean is: First of all, since I assume that the new coalition parties will come from the current opposition, we will have to have a realistic view of the situation—how far the country has progressed in various areas including privatization, the strength of the economy, the possibilities of growth, banking system, setting agriculture in order, maintaining the actual value of pensions, etc. I could list many other areas.

I am convinced that the new coalition government will have to form a six-month, maximum one year, emergency program that can basically have two goals, namely stabilization and launching economic growth. In my view, the latter should be approached from the side of consumption and the market. Legislation or amendments of laws are issues low in priority. In fact, I cannot imagine a coalition that would want to undo anything, mess up the ownership conditions, withdraw the compensation, or repossess the church properties. However, changes like the use of privatization revenue to improve feasible enterprises and create employment ensuring livelihood for people will not need special reasoning. I can also imagine an increased protection of the domestic market while leaving import liberalization intact. In my view, an explicitly pragmatic government will be formed in 1994 because this is what society needs. The government coalition's first task will probably be the restoration of agriculture, which also involves financial affairs, the credit sphere, industry, public consumption, buying-up by wholesalers, sales, foreign investments, developments of villages, and so on. Agriculture cannot be viable without state support. Therefore, my view is that, in 1994, we will need coordinated efforts and agreements on the vital issues rather than political pacts. [passage omitted]

Free Democrats Call For Calm Election Campaign

AU0410141893 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, 2 October (MTI)—Restraint is what the parliamentary group of the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) asks from the government, opposition parties and those outside Parliament, and all figures of political life, to have a calm atmosphere and to retain the confidence of voters and that of political forces to each other.

The SZDSZ call was adopted at the proposal of SZDSZ candidate for prime minister Gabor Kuncze at a parliamentary group session, that opened in Seregelyes, west Hungary, on Friday [1 October].

At a Saturday [2 October] press briefing, Kuncze said the SZDSZ expects the government to refrain from measures which may bring it popularity in the short term but which may jeopardize economic balance and delay development in the long term.

The SZDSZ parliamentary group asks opposition and non-parliamentary parties to refrain from making demands and promises they cannot fulfil and not to use labor conflicts for political purposes. The SZDSZ calls upon all parties and candidates running in the 1994 elections to make and keep an agreement on the elections ethics code, to avoid "negative campaigning," and to do everything to preserve Hungary's reputation and credibility. Issues of ethnic Hungarians, of Hungary's foreign debts should not be campaign issues. The SZDSZ, Kuncze said, will evade all efforts inciting a negative campaign.

Three Social Democratic Parties Merge

LD0310153093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Three parties have united under the name Social Democratic Party of Hungary [Magyarorszagi Szocialdemokrata Part]. They are the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Social Democratic People's Party, and the Independent Social Democratic Party. They decided to set up the joint party at their joint congress today. Andor Boelcsfoeldi, the honorary chairman of the party's successor, said that in the course of the elections extremes must be steered clear of. The new party would be happy to cooperate with the trade unions, the interest representations, and the intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

No Government Comment on Moscow Developments

LD0410111493 Warsaw PAP in English 1059 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—Spokesmen of the government and the Interior Ministry on Monday morning [4 October] refused to comment on the situation in Moscow, referring PAP to the Foreign Ministry.

Press spokesman of the Interior Ministry Piotr Szczypinski "had nothing to say" on the matter.

On Sunday night the Foreign Ministry expressed concern over the events in Moscow and hoped that Russia will solve her problems favourably.

Skubiszewski Supports Yeltsin

LD0410114593 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has taken a stand on the events in Moscow. From the outset, Yeltsin has had and continues to have Poland's support, the head of Polish diplomacy stressed. The minister recalled the statement issued by his ministry yesterday which said that the supreme authorities in Poland are following events in Russia very attentively.

Minister Skubiszewski is in constant touch with the president, the prime minister, and the Polish Embassy in Russia. The government is also devoting its time to the situation in Moscow.

I feel sadness and regret at the fact that there have been victims, he said. According to the minister, the president is adhering to the position he adopted at the very beginning of the Moscow confrontation. I would like to remind you that Lech Walesa has backed the Boris Yeltsin's actions.

Democratic changes should take place peacefully, Minister Skubiszewski emphasized. That is why the fighting that Rutskoy and Khasbulatov have provoked is inadmissible.

Minister Skubiszewski did not want to assess Boris Yeltsin's chances but pointed out that events in other cities in the federation can influence events in Moscow.

Foreign Ministry Communique

LD0310203593 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—"The ministry of Foreign Affairs informs that supreme state bodies are following the developments in Moscow with deep concern," reads a communique released by the Foreign Ministry on Sunday [3 October].

"The ministry expresses its sincere regret regarding victims of those developments. One should express hope, that Russia will resolve her problems favourably.

"The Foreign Ministry stresses the vital interests of Poland, our region and all of Europe in the success of the democratic transformations in Russia and the building of a democratic system in that country," the communique says.

Ministry 'Not Familiar' With Yeltsin Letter

LD0110162193 Warsaw PAP in English 1434 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 1—The Polish Foreign Ministry is not familiar with the contents of President Boris Yeltsin's letter sent to leaders of four Western states. Asked to comment on its contents on Friday [1 October], spokesman for the Foreign Ministry Grzegorz Dziemidowicz said that "he cannot adopt a stand on something which is not known to Polish authorities and has been a press report so far."

According to news agency reports, in his letter to leaders of France, Germany, Britain and the U.S. Yeltsin warned them against admitting former communist states in Eastern Europe to NATO.

Dziemidowicz recalled the Polish-Russian declaration, signed by the Polish and the Russian presidents last August during Yeltsin's visit to Poland, and his statement at the press conference that Russia was neither for nor against Poland's joining NATO as Poland is a sovereign country pursuing a policy stemming from its reason of state. Dziemidowicz added that Yeltsin's statement was misinterpreted by mass media as permission. "Poland is an independent country and pursues such foreign policy as it deems proper," he stressed.

"As regards our attitude towards NATO and desire to join it, we are guided by the obvious Polish reason of state and both our striving and acceptance of the accession by the pact are instrumental in this respect and this is reliable," Dziemidowicz said.

Asked about the 1990 agreement on the re-unification of Germany forbidding NATO to admit countries of the Eastern bloc, that Yeltsin recalled in his letter, Dziemidowicz recalled that the Warsaw Treaty had existed at the time and that the situation had changed fundamentally since then. He added that NATO was now the only guarantor of security in Europe. "This is an obvious argument as the situation in the east of Europe is unstable and can pose a threat to stability. Seeking security guarantees, Poland naturally turns to NATO," he said.

UP Conditionally Ready To Cooperate in Coalition

LD0110172293 Warsaw PAP in English 1429 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 1—The Union of Labour (UP) is ready to cooperate in forming a government with the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) provided these parties are willing to make

corrections in their budget, tax and privatisation policies, Wieslawa Ziolkowska of the UP on Friday told journalists after the first meeting in which her party joined the SLD and PSL economic experts.

She added that the UP's participation in the talks will help find out whether the two parties are able to correct their programmes.

SLD representative Jozef Oleksy was surprised to hear PSL expert Michalk Strak claiming that the works on the future government programme were started only when the UP joined them.

Ziolkowska stressed that "the UP does not want to be a fig leaf" for already accepted solutions. She argued that only after it has got to know them, it will take a stand on the issue.

Bugaj on Coalition Talks

WS0110140093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Sep 93 p 2

[Interview with UP Chairman Ryszard Bugaj by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given: "We Will Not Race to the Parliament"]

[Text] [Olczyk] **For a week now, the Union of Labor [UP] has been splitting hairs and wondering whether or not to join the government coalition, whereas the two great parties—the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]—have already dealt the cards. Has UP decided on anything yet?**

[Bugaj] We will decide only when it will be a rational decision; that is, when we know the concept of forming the government and what the government is going to do. We must also know whether forming the government will mean distribution of spoils among the victorious parties or an idea of building a competent cabinet—such a government must have party members in those ministries for which they bear direct political responsibility; however, in other ministries it should first of all have experts. We favor the latter method of forming a government, but we are not sure that PSL and SLD will be willing to accept it.

[Olczyk] **If we assume that PSL and SLD will want to distribute ministerial portfolios in line with the strength of the political parties, what will happen?**

[Bugaj] The most important thing will be to define the program of the future cabinet. If this government hopes to have a chance, it must, from the outset, inform the public of a few important things and take steps that will help it win at least the minimum trust of the people.

[Olczyk] **Exactly what steps do you have in mind?**

[Bugaj] Both symbolic and concrete steps; steps that would show the public that the new elite wants to share the ordinary people's lives after the elections; that the material situation of those in power really corresponds to the situation of the people (so far it has been different—the closer one was to power, the better one lived).

We need an immediate program that would convince the people; which would meet their expectations. Otherwise, the moment of contention may come very soon.

[Olczyk] **However, do you know what the people are really expecting?**

[Bugaj] Let us assume that UP joins the coalition. Now, if we announced a reasonable privatization program, if we immediately took practical steps in the area of the tax system, which would distribute the tax burden a little more fairly among the various groups, and finally, if we took certain steps to improve the situation of the poorest, then we would have a chance.

Two months after its formation, the government should not only achieve a more or less attractive program, but also have a few facts with which to back things up.

[Olczyk] **Slowing down the mass privatization program is the minimum condition that you will defend...**

[Bugaj] Maybe not slowing down. What we mean is confining it to what it really is, that is, to an experiment conducted on a small scale. If we implement it on a smaller scale, then our main suspicion—that the balance in the capital market may be upset—may also be confirmed to a smaller degree.

[Olczyk] **What if other coalition members do not agree to that?**

[Bugaj] This is not only a practical issue for us; it has a symbolic dimension. Our credibility is at stake here. I personally think that unless this condition is met, we should not commit ourselves to the coalition. It will be a test of some kind, on whether or not a coalition member will be a partner.

[Olczyk] **However, you say that a compromise is necessary in economic matters. You are criticizing the Democratic Union for not even trying to achieve this compromise; you also accuse it of shirking responsibility for the country's future. People will be entitled to say the same about UP.**

[Bugaj] Our stand does include a compromise, because we believe that the mass privatization program should be abandoned altogether. If we agree that the program be implemented only partially—then we clearly say: Let us implement something within the framework of a compromise. If we do not reach an agreement in this area, we can always stay in the opposition. Whether or not this will serve UP is difficult to say. In my opinion, there are no reasons for any great fears. The people appreciate responsible behavior and can see subtle differences in the approach to certain matters. Another thing will also be important: We will differ from the configuration which is beginning to look like a configuration taken from the past era.

[Olczyk] **This is an ideological approach. Many UP members have protested that.**

[Bugaj] It is a political approach. If someone thinks that history means nothing in politics, he ignores the experience of various countries at various times.

Let us assume that SLD insists that Jerzy Jaskiernia become minister of justice. This would be a problem. What would we tell our colleagues who fought against the communist regime for many years? Should we tell them that we are in the same government and that minister over there is ours? Time certainly heals all wounds, but time really must pass.

[Olczyk] **However, at the latest meeting of the National Council, regional activists insisted that a coalition with SLD be formed, which was not what was proposed by the party leaders, who are still hesitant.**

[Bugaj] Opinions on this issue are really divided in our party. All the same, I think that there are not many parties where views on most issues are as uniform as in our party. The resolution that supports SLD in forming a government was passed almost unanimously.

[Olczyk] **Two large parties have already reached an agreement. Has your party not found itself in a situation of a long-tailed cat in a room full of rocking chairs?**

[Bugaj] We must take this into account; we should not make the same mistake as SLD—the success went to their heads and then they soon realized their real position. We should neither race to the government just for the sake of being there, nor should we shirk the responsibility, if it is possible to accept it on reasonable terms.

Personally, I would accept both options. We are aware of the fact that in a coalition of PSL, SLD, and UP, we would not be able to decide much. However, we do have to exert real influence on the government's work.

[Olczyk] **I have heard it said that the most important posts have already been distributed. According to preliminary agreements, the prime minister will be Waldemar Pawlak and the speaker of the Sejm will be Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. Is that true?**

[Bugaj] I could not vote for Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz as the candidate for Sejm speaker, even if SLD was our potential coalition partner.

SDRP, OPZZ Reach Agreement on Joint Actions

LD0110185993 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 30—The leaderships of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) and the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) "reached full agreement on the issues discussed during the meeting" held in Warsaw on Thursday [30 September], read a communique signed by Ewa Spychalska (OPZZ) and Aleksander Kwasniewski (SDRP) and issued after the meeting.

The communique said the SDRP and OPZZ leaders heard a report on establishing a government coalition, its programme, shaping the Sejm (lower house) and Senate bodies and the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) caucus.

"The two sides made decisions concerning future joint actions," read the communique but it did not specify what moves they had in mind.

Election Bureau Says Warsaw Returns Valid

LD0110213093 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 1—Election ballots which Varsovians got in the September 19 parliamentary elections were valid, expert at the National Election Bureau Bohdan Szczesniak told PAP Friday [1 October].

He denied information given Thursday by the evening TV Panorama news magazine that "in the September 19 parliamentary elections all ballots in Warsaw were invalid." According to Panorama, the list of candidates included names of three people out of whom two resigned from running for parliament and one died.

The electoral law does not say that election ballots are invalid in case when they include names of people who resigned from running for parliament or died, explained Szczesniak. According to him, this does not violate regulations of the electoral law and is no basis for a lawsuit.

According to the information of the State Election Bureau, there were eight similar cases throughout Poland reported to the state electoral commission or local election commissions. Changes on registered lists took place after ballots had been printed and there was no technical possibility of changing them.

Szczesniak added that if a voter marked only the name of a person crossed out from the list or dead, his vote was not valid.

Osiatynski: Continued Policy Necessary for Aid

LD0310193293 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—Minister of Finance Jerzy Osiatynski said that Poland would receive credit aid for the implementation of an agreement with commercial banks to which it owes 12.3 billion USD [U.S. dollars].

Osiatynski, meeting with journalists on Sunday following his return from the annual session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Washington, said however, that such a credit would be granted under the condition that Poland continues to pursue its to-date economic policy.

"We received a promise that in case we sign an agreement with the London Club of commercial bank creditors, we would receive additional means under the condition that we maintain the course of the economic policy which boils down to structural changes, ownership transformations and financial discipline at the macro level and that which in the past four years led to results which receive world recognition," said Osiatynski.

According to estimates, confirmed by the IMF, Poland is to achieve a 4 to 4.5 per cent economic growth this year, the highest in Europe. "This is unquestionably a very measurable achievement but all are concerned whether the policy which led to this increase would be continued," added the minister.

Osiatynski said that during his talks in Washington, both the IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus and U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen expressed their concern over the possibility of increasing welfare expenditures which, in turn, would lower sums earmarked for investments and structural changes.

The finance minister said that he does not see any possibilities for the changing of the economic policy during the next 6 to 9 months as the liberalisation of financial discipline would threaten the reduction of Poland's debt by the Paris Club and the reaching of an agreement with the London Club where Poland aimes to obtain a 50 per cent debt reduction. "I see no room for manoeuvre here, despite what has been said during the election campaign," he said.

Osiatynski also said that during The Washington session the World Bank decided to unblock credits for Poland, including a 200 million USD credit for housing. The credits were blocked last summer waiting for the decision of the IMF assesing the course of implementation of the current agreement between Poland and the Fund.

UD To Propose Unification With KLD

LD0210165893 Warsaw PAP in English 1647 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—The council of the Democratic Union (UD) said on Saturday that following the electoral victory by the groupings whose programmes are alien to it, the party decided to be in opposition.

The council addressed the leadership of the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) with a proposal to hold talks on the unification of the two groupings.

Presidium of Movement for Republic Resigns

LD0310185493 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—Leader of the Rightist Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) Jan Olszewski and the entire presidium of the party tendered their resignations during the meeting of the RDR main political council in Warsaw Sunday [3 October].

The meeting, convened following a devastating defeat of the RDR in the September 19 general elections, was devoted to the assessment of the election campaign.

The resignations of the presidium members, including Antoni Macierewicz, the chief of the coalition of the Republic of Poland electoral staff, Wojciech Wlodarczyk, Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, Romuald Szeremietiew and Piotr Naimski, were accepted by the main political council in a ballot, while Olszewski's resignation may be approved only by the congress of the party to be convened before December 15.

The new presidium of the RDR is to be elected in two weeks time.

Iliescu Following Russian Conflict With 'Concern'

AU0310210793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] In connection with the situation in Moscow, we will now present an exclusive statement made by Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, to the Romanian radio station.

[Begin Iliescu recording] I want to make a brief statement. With justified concern, we are following the escalation of the events in Moscow. Resorting to force will hamper the democratization process in Russia and, in any case, cannot offer lasting solutions to political disputes. Only free democratic elections of the institutions of a state governed by law can ensure prospects for the country's stability and socioeconomic recovery.

Being consistently on the side of the democratic forces in Russia, as its neighbor we are profoundly interested in a peaceful and political solution to the current conflict. [end recording]

Officials Pleased With IMF, World Bank Talks

AU0310211993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Florin Georgescu, state minister and minister of finance, and Mugur Isarescu, governor of Romania's National Bank, returned to Bucharest today at noon. They were part of our country's delegation at the negotiations held in Washington with the IMF and the World Bank. At Otopeni Airport, they made brief statements to our reporter. The first one to make a statement was the minister of finance, Mr. Florin Georgescu.

[Begin Georgescu recording] We were part of the team of negotiators and judging by the way these negotiations have taken place, we can say on the one hand that Romania's message of firm commitment to continuing reform and speeding up some of the aspects that, because of generally objective reasons, were coming along more slowly, was understood. On the other hand, our partners in the negotiations understood the specific nature of the conditions under which the Romanian economy's transition process is taking place, as well as certain peculiarities of our industry and certain sectors we inherited from the former regime, something that requires very serious measures for profound adjustment coupled, of course, by measures for social protection and measures for seeking alternatives in the reorganization and reorientation of enterprises from the point of view of their economic activity.

Thus, we are talking about an accurate understanding of the situation in Romania and about the fact that no one is trying to slow down or stop the reform process; we are trying to guarantee a normal framework for the reform process and to make sure that those who participate in the reform are able to endure this framework, so that the accomplishments that have been achieved so far are not jeopardized. [end Georgescu recording]

And now the statement by the governor of Romania's National Bank, Mr. Mugur Isarescu.

[Begin Isarescu recording] From the point of view of our mandate, I can say that the negotiations can be viewed as an important step forward because our partners understood our problems better; efforts were made to seek acceptable solutions, both from an economic and social point of view.

Apart from this, the statistical information we have and calculations we have made prove that it is possible for us to bring our viewpoints much closer and to rapidly find—on the basis of measures that have already been taken in our credit policy—points of agreement, of balance on the basis of which the letter of intent will be formulated at the end of October. [end Isarescu recording]

Melescanu, Foreign Officials Discuss MFN Status

AU0110112193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1652 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/9/1993—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, in New York for the 48th session of the UN General Assembly, met more than 30 heads of states, UN officials and diplomats.

As is natural, Melescanu had among his priorities the granting by the United States of the most-favoured-nation [MFN] clause to Romania. He met for this purpose Alfred Moses, chairman of the Organisation of American Jews, who pledged to help Romania in its endeavours, considering among other things the treatment of the Jewish community in Romania.

Romania's foreign minister also met representatives of the Romanian-American Chamber of Commerce. In the opinion of American businessmen, U.S.-Romanian ties would be boosted by the granting of the clause and American investors and traders would feel encouraged to embark on projects in Romania.

Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu had talks in New York with his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati. The two identified ways of cooperation in oil and natural gas exploitation and machine building. Iran's minister of trade is expected next month in Bucharest.

Trade Minister Discusses Exports, Market Issues

AU0410091693 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 29 Sep 93 p 6

[Interview with Romanian Trade Minister Cristian Ionescu by Constantin Priescu; place and date not given: "Export Strategy—He Who Is Not Investing in Promotion, Will Not Enter the Market"]

[Text] [Priescu] You have assumed the leadership of the Ministry of Commerce at an extremely unfavorable time in the evolution of Romania's trade. Are you concerned by this fact?

[Ionescu] Obviously, yes. My concern, however, is not so much the volume of exports, which—compared with last year—continues at the same level of approximately $3.2 billion over a period of eight months, but the rather slow pace of our economic units in adjusting to the requirements of our economic competitors. Through the finalization of the government objectives aimed at Romania's association with the European Community and EFTA [European Free Trade Association], Romanian exporters have the opportunity to enter the most productive markets in Western Europe...

[Priescu] Are there signs that they are entering those markets? What do the dynamics of trade relations with the countries belonging to the two bodies prove?

[Ionescu] It is probably premature to draw conclusions, due to the short time since the conclusion of the Association Accord. One thing is sure at this point, namely that almost 70 percent of Romania's exports are taking place in the markets of the EC and EFTA countries. After the signing of the agreements, there were signs of an increase (of 6 percent in the volume of exports as compared with the period before the association), but many of our economic units are extremely hesitant in trying to promote the products, which—on the basis of the accord—enjoy preferential treatment in the respective markets. I am particularly referring to automobiles, iron and steel products, textiles, and certain agricultural produce. Some, but not all of our exporters seem to be waiting for an invitation from the said markets, instead of courageously trying to promote their own products. Such a "wait and see" policy does not help them benefit rapidly and for a long period from the "principle of asymmetry," according to which Romanian products will be given preferential treatment in EC markets in the first five years.

[Priescu] Could it be that the EEC and EFTA markets are over saturated and Romanian products have a much smaller chance of finding their place just now?

[Ionescu] No economic unit that wants to succeed in these markets, especially when we are talking of facilities, should rule out such situations, that is the struggle that exists on such markets. If, however, the products of other countries, which, like ourselves, used to belong to the former regime, penetrated the EEC market (and are in demand), then this means that there is enough room for our products as well. If they are competitive from a technical point of view and in terms of prices, they will be increasingly in demand.

[Priescu] Are our exports facing a production crisis or a crisis of... markets?

[Ionescu] Both. The ministries and economic units are duty-bound to think about this crisis and to seek solutions to it. I, as the minister of trade, would like to pay greater attention to the second crisis. A certain "theory" launched immediately after the [1989] revolution, namely of turning exclusively toward the West, has actually created a market crisis for Romanian products. It is a good thing that we have joined the EEC [as published] and EFTA and that we maintain trade relations with the majority of West European countries, but to "link" exports to a single market or to a single area means to accept all the unforeseeable risks entailed by this. The current leadership of the Ministry of Commerce cannot conceive its future activity, without regaining the markets and areas in which Romania was present throughout the years and reaped considerable success. In this sense, I am referring to the former CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] member countries, China, Latin America, Australia, the South African Republic, Southeast Asia, and so forth. We have resumed the practice of joint government sessions and have noted that these sessions are also liked by our partners, who view them—the way we do—as effective instruments of launching and intensifying economic and trade relations. The 15 joint intergovernment commission meetings that were held this year have proved to be extremely productive and their results will especially be noted next year.

[Priescu] When it comes to exports, two problems were always raised during the post-December [1989] period, namely insufficient promotion work and the emergence of a harmful tendency of stockpiling hard currency in foreign banks. Are these two problems of "priority" for your ministry's future activity?

[Ionescu] Yes, and we are on the point of finalizing, we hope, better solutions for both cases. A team of specialists is working on a project of substantiating the necessity and activity of a National Center for Promoting Exports. At the same time, in the shortest time possible, we will set up a directorate for supervising hard currency operations—something that exists throughout the world—within the Ministries of Commerce and International Economic Cooperation.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 4 October

WA0410172893

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian Serbs withdraw concessions, demand lifting of sanctions, reject possibility of stationing foreign troops on Serbian-occupied territory ... Intra-Muslim conflict in western Bosnia continues ... UN extends UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia for three days.

POLITICAL

BOSNIAN SERBS WITHDRAW CONCESSIONS (Belgrade Radio): Bosnian Serb assembly adopts declaration withdrawing concessions made to Muslims at earlier peace talks, demanding that the international community "immediately" lift sanctions against the Serbs, and rejecting "any possibility of the presence of foreign military forces" on Serbian-held territory. (AU0210213393)

MUSLIM CONFLICT IN WESTERN BOSNIA (Zagreb Radio, Zagreb TV): Zagreb TV reports 170 civilians, "mostly women, children, and elderly," have been "maltreated and arrested" in western Bosnian Muslim enclave by armed soldiers and "local extremists" loyal to Bosnian President Izetbegovic. Zagreb Radio says western Bosnian leader Abdic founded a Muslim party, declared he is "ready to die" for cause of western Bosnian autonomy. (LD0210225393, LD0310173993)

UN PROTECTION FORCES

UNPROFOR MANDATE EXTENDED 72 HOURS: Zagreb Radio reports UN Security Council has extended UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia for 72 hours, says permanent resolution to be adopted tomorrow. Croatian Foreign Minister announces draft resolution that "includes all the demands raised by the Croatian Assembly," including the demilitarization of Krajina Serb forces. According to TANJUG, Krajina Serb prime minister Bjegovic denounces resolution, warns it could lead to "total war." (LD0210085093, LD0310151493)

Serbian Assembly Withdraws Earlier Concessions

AU0210213393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[Text] After the decision by the Muslim assembly to condition the peace process again, the republic of Srpska assembly in Banja Luka tonight adopted a declaration, not declining from peace but saying that the Serbian people should not suffer because of the tactics of the Muslim side.

The full text of the declaration says:

One, the republic of Srpska is ready to comply with all the obligations within the resolution on the cease-fire, and will undertake all measures to prevent a possible escalation of the war conflict.

Two, the republic of Srpska is expressing readiness to accept the peace plan, despite the Muslim side's rejection, and to continue the peace process within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia, and in the spirit of the elements of the peace plan agreed upon so far, including the Serb-Muslim declaration, and taking into account the existing territorial demarcation.

The republic of Srpska has been forced to withdraw all the concessions made for the sake of peace, as the Muslim side did not accept the peace plan.

Four, an appeal is issued to the international community to immediately lift the sanctions against the Serbian nation. An appeal is sent out to the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, India, Japan, Ukraine, and the neighboring countries of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] to lift the sanctions unilaterally against the FRY and the republic of Srpska, and to establish economic cooperation with the FRY, the republic of Srpska, and the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Five, the republic of Srpska rejects any possibility of the presence of foreign military forces on the territory of the republic of Srpska, including the NATO forces. The republic of Srpska pledges that it will fully guarantee the consistent implementation of the peace plan on the territory of the republic.

Rejects Air Corridor Request

LD0210232593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2147 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 2 October (TANJUG)—This evening in Banja Luka, the people's assembly of the republic of Srpska rejected a request by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command for former Bosnia-Herzegovina to be allowed to use the Zagreb-Tuzla-Derventa-Bosanska Gradiska air corridor in the usual width of eight km and at an altitude of 3,000 meters.

The republic of Srpska assembly explained this rejection by the fact that previous agreements on the opening of an airport on the territory of the Srpska republic have not been implemented and that UNPROFOR has not displayed readiness to allow the air evacuation of even the most seriously wounded people.

All humanitarian convoys will in the future, as before, be granted unhindred passage on the roads in the territory of the republic of Srpska.

Rejects Observers in Doboj

LD0210233293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2250 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 2 October (TANJUG)—This evening in Banja Luka, the people's assembly of the republic of Srpska rejected a demand of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command for former Bosnia-Herzegovina for the deployment of observers in Doboj.

According to a letter sent by the chief of staff of that command, General Hayes, the observers would be deployed in the Maglaj and Tesanj areas.

This decision of the republic of Srpska assembly is in line with the republic's constitution whereby military forces from a foreign country or forces belonging to military associations cannot be stationed on its territory.

Karadzic: Demilitarization 'Out of the Question'

LD0310175893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] Banjaluka, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—President of the Serb republic (the state of Bosnian Serbs) Radovan Karadzic said on Sunday [3 October] that an advocated demilitarization was out of the question "as long as the Balkans is the way it is."

Addressing the officers at the Serb Republic's military training centre in Banjaluka, Karadzic said the Army needed a well-trained commanding cadre.

Speaking of the international aspect of the struggle of Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said that the Serbs had adversaries because they held a strategically important position and there was also a false belief that they could be annihilated.

At the same time the Serb republic's parliament turned down a request by the Command of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to post observers in Doboj, a Serb town in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The parliament, which ended its four-day session in Banjaluka on Saturday night, had made this decision upon a constitutional provision banning the stationing of military forces of any country or any military association in the territory of the Serb republic.

Karadzic Views Chances of Serbian Unification

LD0210223693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2108 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Banja Luka, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, said this evening, during a break in the session of the republic of Srpska parliament in Banja Luka, that the Serb side withdrew all territorial concessions granted to the Muslims with a view to restoring peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately. [passage omitted]

Asked about the republic of Serb Krajina, Karadzic said that if the Security Council accepts the conditions set by the Republic of Croatia to treat the Krajina area as an integral part of Croatia, the Serbs will have to go for the unification of the republic of Srpska, the republic of Serb Krajina, and Yugoslavia.

According to him, the new state does not need to be a federation, but it should be a country with one parliament, one government, one president, and one capital.

Silajdzic Comments on Future Peace Prospects

AU0110200093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Unattributed "excerpt" of interview with Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 1 October—recorded]

[Text] [Silajdzic] I am not a (?big) optimist in the short-run, I must tell you that. The reason for that is our experience. However, we now have these joint declarations. On our side, I am in charge of implementing these declarations signed with both the Croatian and the Serbian sides.

As far as I am concerned, I will do everything for these declarations to be respected, for everything possible to be done. Therefore, it is possible in this situation, when the diplomatic peace process is disrupted, to live in peace to some extent.

I think that there is readiness on our part not to continue armed conflicts. We did not start the war and, thus, we cannot stop it, of course. There are too few things—that is, too few arms—in our hands to continue any war. Of course, we have to defend ourselves. If we are attacked, this would be our right anyhow. If, on the other hand, these declarations are observed, if the cease-fire agreements are observed, then this winter does not have to be so (?severe), especially if we manage to [word indistinct] corridors for humanitarian help [words indistinct]. I can tell you that my (?activities and those of my ministry) will mainly be pointed in that direction, to ensure as much burning fuel, food, and (?medicines) as possible. [Words indistinct] is what it is. We cannot expect any (?development). This is a struggle for sheer existence, for biological survival.

We will do whatever we can to secure, above all, fuel, gas, food, and (?medicines), as we have done in the past. So, this is what is necessary. We will do whatever we can. I can tell you that in our talks with the Serbian side, we were assured from the very top that, regarding humanitarian convoys, there will not be (?problems), that this side does not want to create problems concerning the humanitarian situation and that it wants to cooperate.

Of course, we acknowledged this statement. We will work toward fulfilling these promises as (?much as this possible).

Izetbegovic Loyalists Arrest Civilians in Cazin

LD0210225393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] The situation in western Bosnia is still very tense after Fikret Abdic refused to obey Sarajevo and proclaimed an autonomous province. According to the Western Bosnia Information Agency [ZBIA], this afternoon a group of armed soldiers loyal to Izetbegovic maltreated and arrested civilians in Cazin. They arrested 170 civilians, mainly women, children, and elderly. This group of imported mercenaries was joined by about 100 local extremists headed by Mirsad Velagic. Afterwards, the extremists moved toward the positions of the regular army, police, and volunteer forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia near Skokovi. Then they opened fire on the residents of Skokovi and Pecigrad and the defenders responded fiercely pushing Izetbegovic's soldiers toward Cazin. Four of Izetbegovic's soldiers were wounded on this occasion.

The most important unit of the 503d Cazin Brigade of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has joined the defenders [loyal to Abdic] with its 1,100 soldiers and all of its military equipment.

According to officials of the police station in Velika Kladusa, 50 terrorists armed with special weapons were caught trying to infiltrate the town. Their task was to carry out terrorist operations in western Bosnian towns and to kill top representatives of the civil authorities, including Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

Six Soldiers Arrested

LD0210191493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] The security service center of the autonomous province of western Bosnia has announced that security forces of the defense ministry and police have arrested two senior intelligence officers of the former 5th Corps of the Muslim army and four members of a terrorist group which prepared assassinations and the capturing of all important facilities in Velika Kladusa. A police investigation is underway.

Commander: Autonomy 'High Treason'

LD0310202593 Sarajevo TV Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Remarks by Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the Fifth Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] The situation in the responsibility zone of the Fifth Corps is currently under the corps' control. The situation in Bihac, Cazin, Bosanska Krupa and Buzim is good. But the situation in Velika Kladusa is not the same as it was five days ago. The reason why is the declaration of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia as an artificial creation. Citizens, soldiers, officers, legal authorities are opposed to this, and want Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the wishes of all citizens and peoples loyal to the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and such a state as it is agreed on at the top level [as heard].

The forcast of events: Most probably Mr. Fikret Abdic, who has done all this, will do everything to implement his plan. For us this is high treason, and will not be permitted by the soldiers and officers. This will not be allowed by the loyal citizens of this region, for we are fighting and will continue to fight for the internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Abdic Founds Muslim Party

LD0310173993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croat 1600 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Despite all the repressive and terrorist actions of Drekovic's followers, a constituent session of the Muslim Democratic Party took place today in Velika Kladusa before 12,000 citizens. Fikret Abdic was elected the party chairman. So far 15,000 citizens have registered as party members.

Velika Kladusa and the whole of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, although mourning their first casualties [since declaring their autonomy] are determined to persevere in the defense of their freedom, Fikret Abdic told the citizens. For the sake of these true [Cazinska] Krajina heroes, and for the sake of the whole population of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia we must not give in, Abdic continued. As for me, you must know that Izetbegovic's and Drekovic's planes, tanks, and all the Mojahedin cannot stop me in [my struggle] for the final liberation of Western Bosnia from the fascist terror. Believe that I am ready even to give my life for such an aim, Fikret Abdic said.

Abdic Dissolves Assembly

LD0110180293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] The Velika Kladusa municipal assembly was dissolved today by a decree issued by Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. This move was initiated by the newly-appointed government in order to reorganize authority in the autonomous province on the basis of new principles and with the most capable people in western Bosnia.

Elections for the new assembly will be carried out on the basis of the principles adopted by the constituent assembly on 27 September—the day the autonomous province of western Bosnia was proclaimed.

New Presidency Member Proposed

LD0310174693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Report by Ranko Mavrak from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] Velika Kladusa is far from Sarajevo, but political developments there have shaken the political leadership in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

The executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] today put forward a proposal to appoint Bihac SDA chairman Irfan Ljubjankic as Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member in place of Fikret Abdic. In the latest events in western Bosnia, Ljubjankic was an obvious opponent to the policy advocated by Abdic, and that was a decisive element for this proposal. Before this, Ljubjankic was mainly unknown to the general public. This also comes as a considerable surprise because there had been intimations that the new member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency should have been chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Nijaz Durakovic. [passage omitted]

'Armed Extremists' Kill One

LD0310102893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Text] The first victim of clashes between Izetbegovic's putschists and citizens of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia has fallen, ZBIA [Western Bosnian Information Agency] reports. Early this morning a group of armed extremists, mostly rebels, broke into the premises of Velkaton radio station in Velika Kladusa, killing one policeman and seriously wounding another two civilians. Having committed the crime of demolishing the radio station the extremists retreated to the nearby hills. According to [Western Bosnian leader] Fikret Abdic's statement this operation was carried out under the personal command of Ramiz Drekovic.

As we file this report a large group of Izetbegovic's followers and rebels are trying to take Skokovi and Pecigrad. ZBIA also reports that tens of thousands of civilians—who have been arriving in Velika Kladusa since early this morning for the Abdic's inauguration ceremony—grabbed their weapons and headed toward Skokovi. Abdic sent out a proclamation to all citizens and soldiers of Western Bosnia to rise in defense of their land.

Izetbegovic Loyalists Shot, Wounded

AU0210212493 Paris AFP in English 2118 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 2 (AFP)—Four Bosnian troops loyal to President Alija Izetbegovic were shot and wounded Saturday [2 October] at Cazin in the breakaway Bihac enclave in clashes with supporters of Bosnian secessionist leader Fikret Abdic, Abdic's aides said.

The incident was the first in the northwest Bosnian enclave near the Croatian border since Abdic, a former member of the collective Bosnian presidency, declared its autonomy Monday [27 September].

HVO Chief Backs Abdic

LD0210164693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Petrovac, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Major-General Vlado Santic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in the Bihac region, last night gave his full support to Fikret Abdic and to the creation of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

Santic called on the Muslim population of western Bosnia to follow Abdic because this was a pledge of peace in this area.

In a statement on Croatian television, the HVO general said that the situtation in the autonomous province of western Bosnia continues to be tense but that Abdic is acquiring an increasing number of supporters from one hour to the next, and is thus creating a national army of western Bosnia.

Santic assessed that the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Alija Izetbegovic is a terrorist organization, adding that this is a mild expression for those who have been the main initiators of crimes against the Croatian people.

Platoon Switches to Abdic

LD0210151093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] The elite platoon of the sabotage formations of the 503d Brigade in the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has ceased to obey General Ramiz Drekovic and joined up with the people of Buzim and surrounding villages, the Western Bosnian Information Agency, ZBIA, reported today.

According to Velika Kladusa radio, Fikret Abdic has again called on the soldiers and officers of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army not to shoot at their fellow citizens.

Abdic told the Western Bosnian Information Agency that there are signs that the highest-ranking officers of the 5th Corps are also ready to place themselves under the civilian authorities of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

Abdic Calls For Uprising

LD0110194393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Excerpt] We have just received a statement from the office of Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia:

Due to an intensified campaign of military terror against the population of western Bosnia, particularly of Cazin, Bihac, Pecigrad, and the surrounding villages Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, issued a proclamation to the population and members of the armed forces. The proclamation stresses that a decisive moment has arrived for the patriotic forces in western Bosnia to use all available means and to rise in defense of the freedom and dignity of all people in the area, who are endangered in a most brutal manner by the proven war criminal Ramiz Drekovic.

All citizens, particularly fighters, are called on to use their weapons and other means in defense of the people, freedom, democracy, and human dignity. [passage omitted]

Croat, Muslim Armies Sign Cease-Fire for Mostar

LD0210215193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] In Medjugorje today, in the presence of senior UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and UNHCR officials, delegations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Muslim army signed a memorandum on cease-fire and the protection of civilians in Mostar and other areas.

Taking as the starting point the Geneva declaration, international conventions, and previously signed cease-fire agreements, the two sides agreed to resume the activity of a joint working group for issues of mutual interest, such as the evacuation of wounded, the exchange and release of prisoners of war, aid for hospitals and other issues.

The new Medjugorje document binds the two sides to do everything possible to protect civilians in Mostar. It was agreed that military facilities should be placed at a reasonable distance from hospitals, residential, and other public buildings. Civilian facilities will not be targeted in attacks.

The memorandum's final section says that it [Not further specified] will be used as a guideline to stabilize the military situation and as a path toward an absolute cease-fire in Gornji Vakuf, Jablanica, Konjic, and in other areas.

UNPROFOR Reports Fighting Near Kiseljak

AU0410101493 Paris AFP in English 0959 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 4 (AFP)—Bosnian Moslem and Croat forces have clashed in central Bosnia in "very significant fighting" south of Kiseljak, a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman said here Monday [4 October].

The fighting, which lasted throughout Sunday apparently began as a result of a Croat offensive against a Bosnian Army-controlled supply road leading from Tarcin northwards towards Kiseljak, Lieutenant-Colonel Bill Aikman said.

There was also some low-level firefights between the two forces in the Vitez area, just west of Kiseljak, he added.

In the southern town of Mostar, a major flashpoint in recent fighting between HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Croat forces and Moslem-led government troops, some 24 mortar shells landed in the eastern Moslem-held sector on Sunday.

On Saturday, the two forces had agreed to scale down fighting in the town, pledging an end to random shelling and sniping and attacks on hospitals.

The two sides were due to negotiate further reduction in the level of fighting, but HVO forces were reportedly demanding guarantees for the safety of fellow Croat units in Sarajevo which have been fighting on the side of the Bosnian Army.

The Bosnian Army has demanded that HVO forces in the capital down weapons and return to barracks, an order they have refused to obey because of fears for their safety, according to HVO officers here.

Meanwhile, there were reports of some 20,000 mostly Moslem refugees gathering in mountainous areas south of Sarajevo, where they were living in conditions "akin to the Middle Ages," Aikman said.

In Sarajevo, a 34-year-old Italian pacifist from Brescia, shot Sunday when he and a handful of friends attempted to cross a downtown bridge separating Bosnian Government from Serb forces with a message of peace, has died of his wounds, hospital officials said Monday.

Army Says UNPROFOR Aiding Serbian Advances

AU0110151093 Paris AFP in English 1503 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Oct 1 (AFP)—The Moslem-led Bosnian army Friday [1 October] seized four strategic heights from Croat forces in the south of the country after the Croats had first launched an offensive, Radio Sarajevo said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the Bosnian army has accused UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops of withdrawing from some positions around Srebrenica, eastern Bosnia, and allowing Serb forces to move forward.

An UNPROFOR spokesman confirmed that Canadians in the area had been forced to abandon several observations posts because of a redeployment which followed the withdrawal of 150 soldiers who were being sent home.

He could not say whether Serb forces had moved forward as a result.

UNPROFOR Asked To Help Croats in Sarejevo

LD0210175093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In response to an ultimatum issued by the 1st Corps of the Muslim army which wants the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] Kralj Tvrtko Brigade to surrender its positions and withdraw to its barracks, Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, sent a letter today to General Francis Briquemont, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Seeing this ultimatum as an open call to ethnic cleansing and genocide against Croats, in his letter Mate Boban demands that the order be completely withdrawn and that the Muslims give up their plan to physically liquidate both the HVO and all Croats in Sarajevo. Boban wants UN troops to protect the part of the front held by the HVO for 17 months now, to prevent the massacre of HVO soldiers and Croatian civilians, and to warn the Muslim side that the HVO has its autonomy in Sarajevo and the right to defend the property and lives of the Croats in the city.

At the same time, Boban is demanding that the Muslim side honor the responsibilities assumed and signed by Izetbegovic so far, including the joint Geneva declaration.

Granic Reacts to Extending UNPROFOR Mandate

LD0210085093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Tihomir Vinkovic]

[Text] The UN Security Council has adopted Resolution No. 870 extending the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] mandate in Croatia by 72 hours. Croatia has received firm assurances from the UN Security Council—the United States in particular—that the proposed text of the resolution will be adopted without alterations on Tuesday. Mate Granic, vice president of the Croatian Government and minister for foreign affairs explains the significance of this move.

[Begin Granic recording] A UN Security Council technical resolution has been adopted whereby the UNPROFOR mandate is extended by 72 hours. Tuesday, 0400 New York time, [words indistinct] prepared resolution following the difficult negotiations that have been in progress since President Tudjman's visit, shorter bilateral meetings, particularly with the UN Security Council, with all the members of the UN Security Council, and continued consultations with President Tudjman.

This resolution, which has alreday been printed and distributed among the press, and adopted by all members of the UN Security Council, includes all the demands raised by the Croatian Assembly and government, ranging from border controls, demilitarization to Serbia's responsibility for events in the UN protected areas and pink zones. This was the most difficult part of the job, to link Serbia, the dispatch of their volunteers, weapons—it means that they are mentioned explicitly in one paragraph. It also means that [words indistinct] a peaceful reintegration of the UN protected areas and pink zones into Croatia's legal system. Likewise, one should stress that we have firm assurances from the UN Security Council, especially by the United States, that there will be no major change in the proposed resolution. Nor is Croatia willing to accept any.

This resolution was adopted thanks to the international community's support. It considerably consolidates the position of the Republic of Croatia, its international position. On Tuesday we can expect that it will be adopted in this form.

If anything is altered Croatia will not be willing to accept this. If not, Croatia will abide by the assembly's decisions and the decisions made by the government of the Republic of Croatia. This means that the printed resolution distributed at the UN Security Council is our final stand, the final stand of the Republic of Croatia. If this takes place, and if it is adopted in this form then new possibilities will certainly arise for UNPROFOR. It is important that the question of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is resolved in parallel with the question of UN protected areas and pink zones. Likewise, the arrival of peace forces, particularly NATO forces, in Bosnia-Herzegovina will certainly facilitate quicker solutions to the situation in the pink and UN protected area zones.

This means that we are waiting until Tuesday and will continue with intense consultations, as we believe there will be no major alterations to the proposed resolution. [end recording]

President Welcomes Resolution

LD0210105993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Excerpt] We have just received a statement from the office of the president of the Republic. Late last night the 27th session of the Defense and National Security Council was held in the Presidential Palace. It was chaired by Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. The council was briefed on the participation of the Croatian delegation, headed by the president of Republic, at the beginning of the 48th UN General Assembly session and throughout diplomatic activities regarding the passing of the UN Security Council's resolution on extending the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] mandate in the Republic of Croatia.

Croatia is satisfied with the fact that following protracted and laborious diplomatic talks the UN Security Council eventually arrived at a draft resolution which takes into account the most important demands raised by the Republic of Croatia regarding more effective action on the part of UNPROFOR, and the consistent implementation of all relevant UN Security Council resolutions. Croatia expresses satisfaction primarily with the fact that operational Paragraph 4 of the draft resolution clearly singles out Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro and their coresponsibility for a peaceful solution to the UN protected areas problem.

Croatia welcomes the UN Security Council's willingness to call on Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro not to thwart the effective implementation of the peace plan and relevant UN Security Council resolutions, which include the total disarmament of Serbian rebels in the UN protected areas. Croatia primarily appreciates that part of the resolution which stresses that lack of cooperation and obstacles to the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions in the Republic of Croatia will result in serious consequences for those who oppose this. Croatia hopes that Belgrade will understand this message in a correct way.

Although Croatia is satisfied with the draft resolution, something it perceives as a possible turning point in the effective resolution of the UN protected area question and the beginning of reintegration of these parts of Croatian territory into Croatia's entire system, at the same time the Republic of Croatia points out its dissatisfaction with the fact that due to Russia's insistence, the adoption of the resolution was postponed at the last moment.

Croatia agrees to yet another technical brief prolongation of UNPROFOR's mandate in the interest of peace and a peaceful solution to the situation in the UN protected areas as it sincerely hopes that on Tuesday the UN Security Council will adopt the draft resolution in its proposed form—all the more so given the fact that the UN Security Council indicated that it would no longer debate the resolution's contents and that the proposed draft is the final one.

Croatia repeatedly stresses that it can no longer agree to any alterations to the draft resolution's contents. This is why it firmly insists that the resolution must be adopted in its proposed form. Otherwise, Croatia will be forced to cancel further UNPROFOR activity on its territory. [passage omitted]

Bjegovic Denounces Resolution

LD0310151493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) told journalists today that "all UN Security Council resolutions passed after the Vance plan adoption have had the same aim—reintegration of Krajina into the Republic of Croatia."

"The new UN Security Council resolution on the mandate extension of the peacekeeping forces continues along the same line as the previous ones—reflecting if not Croatia's desires, then proposals by Croatia," Bjegovic said. [passage omitted]

Asked by journalists about the alleged betrayal of Krajina by the leadership of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Bjegovic replied: "I am not only convinced, but I am certain that there has been no betrayal. I think that we ourselves should do the job on our territory." [passage omitted] Asked what he expected after the new UN Security Council resolution, Bjegovic said: "If not talks on an equitable footing, then total war."

Russians, Serbs Said To Agree on UN Resolution

LD0210000393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] While you were listening to reports from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tihomir Vinkovic filed another report from New York.

[Vinkovic] Tihomir Vinkovic reporting on the latest from New York for Croatian Radio. At the moment when the resolution on the future of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate in Croatia seemed to be on the verge of being adopted—the press had already been given the wording of the resolution—the session of the UN Security Council was abruptly adjourned. As we have learned among diplomatic circles, the reason was new Russian demands. The Russians appear to have some kind of agreement with Serbia according to which they should not be listed in the operational part of the resolution, but only in its preamble. Therefore, the Serbs and Russians are operating again in their own style.

Tudjman Criticizes Russia

AU0210192293 Paris AFP in English 1906 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 2 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman lashed out at Russia Saturday [2 October] after Serbia's "Bolshevik ally" vetoed the extension of the UN peacekeepers' mandate in Croatia.

Russia, who has the right of veto in the United Nations' Security Council, opposed Friday all motions regarding Serb separatists in Croatia. Russian delegates also refused to back a text warning Serb leaders that a negative attitude in Croatia would mean UN sanctions imposed on ex-Yugoslavia would continue.

The 15 members of the Security Council only extended the UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) mandate until October 5 and not for the further six months proposed at Friday's meeting.

Tudjman told military officials at Osijek in eastern Croatia, that they would have to "free every last inch of our territory" if Russia, Serbia's "Bolshevik or orthodox ally" continued to block the UN resolution.

The Foreign Ministry summoned Russia's representative in Zagreb, Alexandr Ivanov, to express Croatia's "discontent" with Moscow's stance which was "almost equivalent to taking sides," the Croatian news agency HINA reported.

Tudjman reiterated a threat to demand the withdrawal of UNPROFOR if the Security Council did not back Croatia's requests.

"Help us to re-establish our sovereign power, or withdraw your peacekeeping forces who currently shield the Serb aggressor and we ourselves will reassert Croatian authority over all our territory," Tudjman told the UN.

Tudjman also exhorted his troops to chase every last "occupier, rebel and terrorist" out of Croatia, reminding them of the sacrifices that had been made to supply them with arms.

An arms embargo was imposed on ex-Yugoslavia in September 1991, but has been more or less violated by all belligerents.

Official Protests Russian Position

LD0210163093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Dr. Ivbo Sanada, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia today summoned—in the absence of [Russian] Ambassador Leonid Kerestedhziyants—a representative of the embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Croatia, Aleksandr (Ivanov).

Dr. Sanada, on behalf of the Croatian Government, expressed dissatisfaction and amazement at the standpoint of the Russian Federation, and its expressed demand that the adoption of the Security Council resolution on the extension of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in the Republic of Croatia be postponed, though the other members of the Security Council were ready to accept this resolution.

Deputy Minister Sanada stressed that such strong opposition by Russia was unexpected in view of its hitherto constructive contribution in the context of the efforts of the international community to resolve the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

This standpoint of the Russian Federation differs from an earlier standpoint and virtually means its favoring of one side, Dr. Sanada said, requesting of the Russian embassy representative that he explain why it is that they [the Russians] are also not accepting that part of the resolution which links the co-responsibility of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] to the resolution of the problem of the protected areas in Croatia.

Deputy Minister Sanada repeated the standpoint of the Republic of Croatia that Croatia will not and cannot accede to changes in the content of this resolution because the sanctions against the FRY should not be lifted until the protected areas are incorporated into the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia, as envisaged in the Vance plan and Security Council resolutions.

Tudjman Ready To Use Force on 'Occupied' Areas

LD0210224493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Zeljka Bacic]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The landing of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's plane was a symbolic opening of Osijek sport and commercial airport, the building of which denies the claims that this part of Croatia is neglected. [passage omitted]

[Bacic] Croatia's policy has recently demonstrated its correctness in the UN Security Council because the world has accepted our justified demands, but if resolutions are not honored, Tudjman said, we will have enough strength to regain every inch of the occupied land. He added:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Our consistent policy testifies that we want a peaceful solution, primarily in order to avoid further destruction and the spilling of every drop of Croatian blood—if we can avoid spilling it. But, we have also proved that, if we need to liberate [Serbian-held territory], the entire Croatian nation—both at home and in the diaspora—will be ready to spill every drop of blood necessary to liberate every inch of Croatian territory.

We have had to invest great efforts in the building of our Army, and also in the sphere of diplomacy and politics, in order to win over the world to stand behind Croatia, behind Croatia's justified demands. The liberation of all those areas is imminent—by peaceful or violent means! [applause] [end recording]

Krajina Threatens To Fire Missiles at Zagreb

AU0310151493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] In his statement to the reporters concerning the planned session of the UN Security Council and yesterday's meeting of the Krajina authorities at Plitvice [Lakes], Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, stressed that the only thing that Krajina was asking the world to do is to ensure that the first article of the Vance plan be observed. This concerns the right of the people to express their will regarding the kind of state they want to live in. Bjegovic said that the republic of Serbian Krajina did not need UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] as it now figured, and he predicted that difficult days were ahead before the end of October. By then the status of the UNPROFOR members should be defined in the Krajina-Croatian conflict.

The statement issued from the session of the Supreme Defense Council of the Republic talks about the alternatives: We Shall All Live or We Shall All Die, and carries a message to the people of Krajina and Croatia. This council addresses the citizens of Zagreb in particular. This is effected with the following statement: Evil from our side can only be caused by your leaders. If the aggression is repeated, we will fire warning missiles, and if the aggression still continues, then we will pound vital military targets throughout Croatia.

The statement issued from the session of the Supreme Defense Council of the republic of Serbian Krajina also carries the warning that hundreds of thousands of people would get killed in the confusion of all-out war.

The Croatian-Krajina war nevertheless continues. Loud explosions can be heard in Knin from the direction of the northern Dalmatian fronts. The press center of the headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina has issued a statement saying that last night the Croatian infantry launched attacks on the Drnis and Lika fronts. Smiljcic near Benkovac was shelled with howitzers, while Cista Mala came under tank fire from the neighboring (?Gacilez). Considerable movement of combat vehicles and buses of the Croatian Army has been registered in Lika. The region of Kordun and Banija has come under small arms fire.

Krajina Rejects Return to Croatia

LD0210211093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina, members of the main headquarters of the republic of Serb Krajina army, and the presidents of the Krajina municipalities concluded at a meeting in Plitvice today that there is no way that Krajina can be returned to Croatia in any form.

According to ISKRA, it was proposed that the republic of Serb Krajina parliament should reject any UN Security Council resolution insisting on this.

Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina, informed the participants at the meeting of the government's diplomatic activities and the international position of the republic of Serb Krajina in connection with the extension of the UN Protection Forces' [UNPROFOR] mandate.

He stressed that Croatia will use all means—initially diplomatic means through the international community—and then resort to all-out war, in order to return Krajina to its jurisdiction.

Brigadier General Mile Novakovic, commander of the republic of Serb Krajina army, pointed out that all available resources must serve Krajina's defense and that unity is needed to defend the republic of Serb Krajina.

He also conveyed the message of the main headquarters of the republic of Serb Krajina army that no military delegations will take part in any negotiations which would demand the disarmament of Krajina in advance.

It was agreed at the meeting that reports should be prepared for the forthcoming session of the parliament on this and on the events that took place during the recent assault by the ustasha forces.

According to its chairman, Mile Paspalj, the parliament will also discuss the holding of the first multiparty elections in the republic of Serb Krajina.

Hadzic Expresses Concern About Facing 'Total War'

AU3009160693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Report by Slavko Pusic from Novi Sad]

[Text] At the beginning of his talks with Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, Bosko Perosevic, head of the Vojvodina Executive Council, stressed that the Serbian people have almost reached their goals and that they must remain united at this difficult time. Goran Hadzic completely agreed with him, stressing that a lot depended on the world community. He then said the following:

[Begin Hadzic recording] If Croatia rejects Butrus-Ghali's proposal on extending the [UNPROFOR] mandate, this means that we are facing a total war. In other words, we are facing an outright showdown with the enemy. I do not doubt the final (?outcome) of this clash, but I am concerned for the lives that we will have to give. I feel that this is unnecessary and that the world should realize that the only realistic solution is to recognize the republic of Serbian Krajina. This would be a realistic and wise solution that would lead to peace in this region. [end recoding]

Goran Hadzic said that the regionalization of the Serbian Krajina is being prepared and that this will speed up the revival of economic activities. He stressed that Slavonia and Baranja can already now feed not only the entire Serbian Krajina but also the republic of Srpska. Hadzic spoke in favor of the unification of the information arena with Serbia.

Mile Paspalj, chairman of the assembly of Serbian Krajina, who also took part in the talks, asked the Vojvodina and Serbian governments to withdraw hospitality to all men capable of work who are there as refugees. We are at the biological minimum, Paspalj said, and therefore we must do everything for the return of the male active population to defend our borders and work in the enterprises.

Italy Opens Consulate in Istria

LD0210172493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Text] [Italian] Consul General Gianfranco de Luigi held a reception today to mark the opening of a general consulate of the Republic of Italy in Rijeka.

Federal

Stores Empty as Result of Price Controls

93BA1494D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 93 p 11

[Article by D. Ivanovic and G. Volf: "Price Controls Have Emptied the Stores"]

[Text] The black-market rate of the German mark has consumers in mourning, because introduction of the price controls has emptied the stores. Those merchants who dare to sell any goods at the prescribed prices cannot obtain for the money received even half the amount of those same goods, and the producers are behaving likewise, and only speculators are benefiting once again. Everything that turns up in the store is bought up at trifling prices by petty black marketeers who earn 10 times as much by selling those goods at the open-air market. Every day, secret storehouses full of scarce products are being discovered, but it is almost impossible to find their owners, and who knows what is hidden in the numerous shelters and warehouses all over the country. In recent days, the authorities have been finding various goods, from food to car engines, pieces of machinery, cigarettes, oil stoves, and clothing.

The speculators are taking advantage of the unresolved status of the krajinas and the war to conceal the channels through which goods and money are flowing. What is allegedly being exported over the Drina usually ends up on counters in the open-air market, and it is not possible to monitor warehouses and firms in the war-torn areas.

The uncontrolled rise of the black-market exchange rate has made controlled prices pointless, and so attempts of the government to eliminate the illogicalities have been having no effect. Three kg of detergent cost about 900 million dinars with ration coupons, but only 1 German mark [DM], and the same bag costs precisely 10 times more at the market. Imported detergent, whose price is not limited, costs from 4 to 6 billion for three kg, but it cannot be had.

Yesterday, the German mark was worth 900 million on the street and between 1.2 and 1.4 billion dinars in transactions between enterprises. Although the demand for foreign exchange has declined because trade has died out, because there is less and less convertible money in the country, all the money on account is immediately being converted to hard currency in order to preserve its value.

Merchants are trying in vain to get goods from producers. At PKBT [Beograd Agroindustrial Combine "Trade"], according to Dragan Ivanovic, director of that firm, the warehouses are mainly empty, they contain only goods from commodity reserves intending to be sold for coupons, and they are regularly distributed to stores. However, this represents only five staples, while all others have been absent from stores for days. The warehouses of Gorica, as well as this firm's stores, are completely empty, and, according to the competent individuals in that firm, there are no prospects of things being better in the future. Producers, that is, they say, are not delivering goods, the great majority of them are not producing anything either, because at present prices they cannot cover even their basic costs.

For all those reasons, milk and meat continue to be available in the stores "by the teaspoonful," and there is a bit more bread. The bakers, however, say that their product is still the cheapest and the costs of the raw materials are greater than the price of the finished loaf of bread. That is why there is some question of whether there will be bread in the stores at these prices. Milk is reaching the stores in one-tenth the quantity it represented earlier, because, they say in the dairies, at the present prices the peasants cannot pay even for the containers, much less earn anything.

And it has been difficult to obtain meat in recent weeks. There is some, to be sure, in a few private stores, but the prices are such that even the most persistent are refraining from making a purchase. At the same time, because of the drought and the shortage of livestock feed, livestock are simply being massacred in the countryside. The purchasers in villages in the Morava Valley are mainly Skipetars, who rarely pay more than DM250 for a cow, which ends up over the border, usually in Macedonia, where meat is several times more expensive.

Serbia

Seselj on Conflict Between Radicals, Socialists

AU0110210093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Oct 93 p 5

[Report by M. Mikuljanac: "Milosevic Still Respects Me"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] is continuing its activities directed at bringing down the government of Nikola Sainovic, launching a motion for the removal of the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and preparing material for starting the no-confidence motion in the Federal Government. This was stated by SRS President Vojislav Seselj at a news conference in Belgrade yesterday.

Correspondents' curiosity at the news conference in the SRS premises exceeded all the organizer's expectations. The central theme of the conference was the conflict between the socialists and the SRS.

"The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has started using undemocratic methods of fighting, methods that are not appropriate for a legal democratic system. All of this will have a boomerang effect. They will have enough time to regret it," the SRS leader said casually.

"The socialists do not have a single proof against us; therefore, they will probably try to produce false evidence, subsequently, with provocations and staged incidents," Seselj said, adding that he has "ordered" all branches of his party to be "cautious and avoid conflict situations."

Almost all the correspondents' questions referred to the SPS-SRS conflict.

[Question] Is it true that this rift has been "invented?"

[Seselj] There is no rift because we have never been close. We have opposed the SPS right from the beginning.

[Question] Are you afraid of peace?

[Seselj] We have always strived for just peace. Back in 1990, the Serbian Freedom Movement sent an appeal to the Bosnian Muslims that began: "Muslim Brothers."

[Question] What is the meaning of the claim that you are a "Sarajevo politico?"

[Seselj] I am a Sarajevo politico. This is clear from the fact that I was convicted in Sarajevo for promoting ideas about a multi-party system, while the older members of the SPS were persecuting free thinkers and the young ones playing marbles.

[Question] What is your opinion on the statements made by [Zoran] Djindjic and [Vuk] Draskovic?

[Seselj] We are glad that the ideologically close parties (the Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement) returned to the SPS.

[Question] What do you think about Milosevic, and do you regret having supported him in the past?

[Seselj] My opinion of other people does not depend on their opinion of me. I think that he still respects me. We do not regret having supported him against Milan Panic [former prime minister of Yugoslavia].

[Question] Do you think Milosevic knew about the SPS statement?

[Seselj] The statement could not have been released without his approval. As far as we know, he did not take part in the drafting of the statement but did order reaction to it.

[Question] Is there the danger that a state of emergency will be introduced?

[Seselj] There is such a danger. The SRS will fight against it because if the state of emergency had not been introduced when the war was everywhere around us, then it is totally unjustified to introduce it now, when only the cabinet of Nikola Sainovic is in danger.

[Question] Do you expect SRS members, as well as the leadership, to be arrested?

[Seselj] First of all, we expect to see the evidence for unfounded accusations levied against the SRS. Our volunteers have not committed a single war crime. There are only praises, from both the SPS and the army, that they were the most disciplined fighters on the battlefields.

Situation in Hospitals 'Catastrophic'

93BA1490B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 93 p 10

[Article by Mirko Caric: "POLITIKA Dossier: Sanctions Against Yugoslavia: Pacemakers Removed From the Dead"]

[Text] *The catastrophic situation at Yugoslav hospitals: At psychiatric clinics, patients are tied up again, cytostatic therapy is discontinued for older patients, and new cases of tuberculosis are recorded.*

In the area of health care, the sanctions by the UN Security Council are having a drastic effect on children and the sick in Yugoslavia. In an extensive analysis by the Federal Ministry for Labor, Health Service, and Social Policy, actions by the world organization, which are resulting in a situation where pacemakers are removed from the dead, are termed "unexpected, incomprehensible, inhumane, and inappropriate."

Supplies to health care institutions of drugs, medical and sanitary material, equipment, and spare parts have been critical for some time now since 95 percent of all raw materials and intermediate goods and around 90 percent of all medical equipment is imported.

Mortality has risen, especially among infants, the chronically ill, and the elderly. Over the past two years, health care has fallen off by 10 percent, while deaths from infectious diseases have risen 37.5 percent. The number of epidemics in 1992 was 2.5 times greater.

The World Health Organization and the UN Security Council warn that 40 percent of the population of Yugoslavia is children and persons younger than 24. Of the 660,000 refugees recorded this past April, nearly 300,000 were under the age of 18.

During the course of last year, health care fell off drastically and the functioning of the health care system was practically reduced to the bare minimum. The number of examinations of preschool children was reduced by 19 percent.

Health services in Vojvodina indicate that the growth in the percentage of microbiological and chemical contaminants in the water is such that they are literally on the verge of epidemics of infectious diseases.

The bacteriological unsuitability of the drinking water in that province has grown 9 perce tage points, to nearly 23 percent, especially in Syrmia. There has been an eightfold increase in the percentage of central waterworks with bacteriologically unsuitable analyses.

In Novi Sad, it has been found that 14 percent of students have hemoglobin below the lower limit, and almost one student in two has below-normal hemoglobin.

In the Vojvodina capital, 17 percent of students are unfit for military service because they are too thin, while in Nis that percentage is 10 percent higher. The prognoses of the Federal Ministry are gloomy: By the end of this year and the beginning of next year, even more drastic disruptions in the diet and physical fitness of the Yugoslav population can be expected. Children, pregnant women, and the elderly are the worst off.

More and more babies are being delivered at home due to the lack of engine fuel and irregular transportation. Infant mortality in Belgrade, which in 1991 came to 14 per thousand, rose to 16 per thousand last year. In a group of 683 children in Belgrade's Stari Grad Opstina, it was determined that 14 percent have hearing impairments. The request to import 782 hearing aids was rejected by the UN Sanctions Committee.

General conditions at hospitals are catastrophic, to put it mildly. There is not enough disinfectant or food for patients. Medical equipment is increasingly falling into disuse due to the lack of spare parts.

In in-patient health care, there are shortages of entire groups of drugs, anesthetics, and antishock therapy drugs that are used only for the most urgent cases. There is no cyclosporin for patients that have received organ transplants, and because of that the transplants are being rejected.

Cytostatic therapy is being discontinued for older patients because of the lack of cytostatics.

Patients that need three dialysis sessions a week are getting one or two.

There are shortages of diagnostic equipment, various films, surgical needles, thread, syringes, gloves, infusion systems, means of immobilization, bandages, absorbent cotton....

At psychiatric hospitals, much more than before, cases of aggressiveness are being recorded, with frequent fights, attacks on staff, the destruction of inventory, escapes, and deaths outside the hospital. The once-abandoned practice of tying up patients has been reintroduced.

Because of the lack of internist drugs, 250 patients at the psychiatric hospital in Kovin died last year, which is twice as many as in 1991. At the Leskovac mental health clinic, twice as many psychosomatic illnesses were recorded compared to the period before the imposition of the sanctions in May 1992. Seventy new cases of tuberculosis have been recorded at the mental hospital in Gornja Toponica.

Poor hygiene at nearly every hospital (there is no hot water, soap, detergent, laundry) is resulting in the appearance of lice infestations, scabies, skin infections....

Expert analyses also indicate the increasing presence in Yugoslavia of so-called disaster-psychosis—mass psychiatric illnesses during times of crisis.

Kosovo

Five Albanians Sentenced to Imprisonment

LD0110185093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Gnjilane, Oct 1 (TANJUG)—Five members of an ethnic Albanian separatist organization, active in Serbia's province of Kosovo and Metohija, were on Friday [1 October] sentenced to several years in prison for trying to 'break up Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.'

The five, members of the National Movement for Liberation of Kosovo, were accused of preparing a forcible secession from the F.R.Y. of all Albanian-populated areas.

They were also involved in the distribution of leaflets, calling ethnic Albanians in Kosmet to take up arms to 'liberate Albanian territories from the Great Serbia-Montenegro-Macedonia occupiers.'

Kosmet, mostly populated by ethnic Albanians, has a strong separatist movement which calls for the province to join the neighbouring Albania, but conceals its goal with constant complaints about violations of Albanians' civil and minority rights.

Along with Kosmet, they are striving to incorporate to Albania also western parts of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia where they make up 20 percent of the population.

Pristina University Off Limits to Albanians

LD0110211393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Nearly 20,000 Albanian students and 850 professors of Pristina University began the new school year in private arrangements today.

Lectures will be held—as they have during the past two years—in private homes and improvised classrooms because the official Serbian authorities, backed by the police, did not allow Albanian students to enter university buildings today. The university has been usurped for two years now. Entry into the university buildings was permitted today only to students attending lectures in the Serbo-Croat language.

Some 60,000 Albanian high school students in Kosovo are also studying privately.